WISDOM

THE MAGAZINE OF KNOWLEDGE FOR LIFETIME LEARNING AND EDUCATION



PRIME MINISTER NEHRU OF INDIA

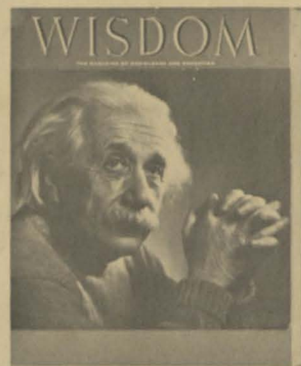
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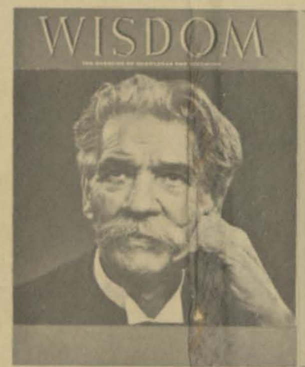
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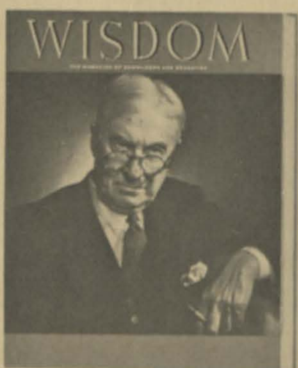
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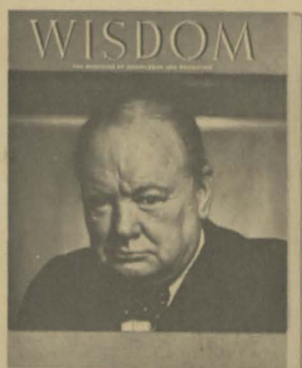
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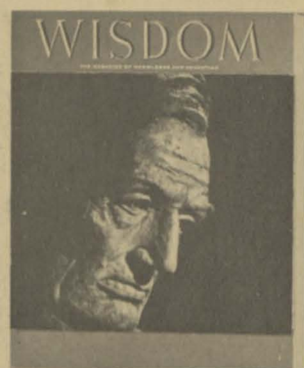
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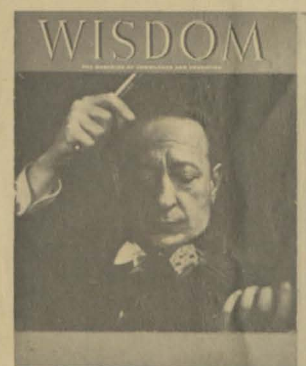
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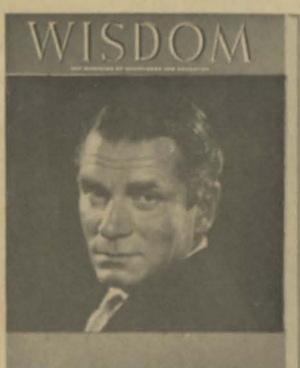
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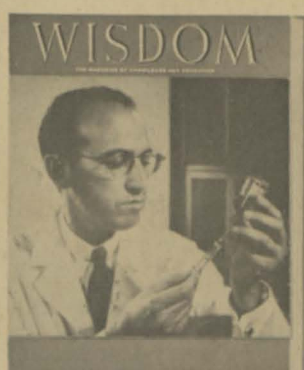
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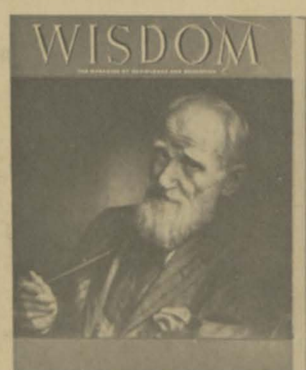
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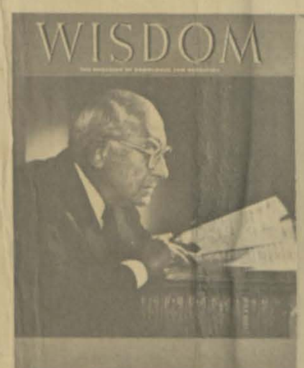
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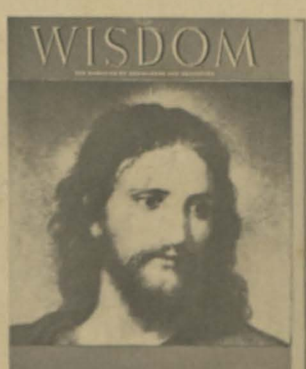
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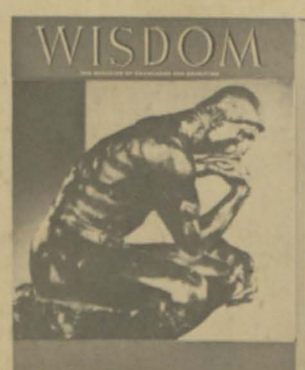
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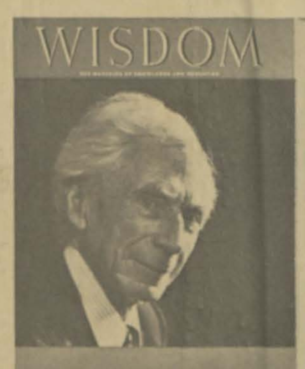
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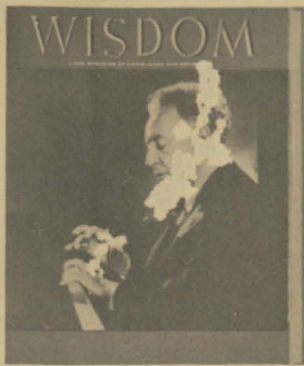
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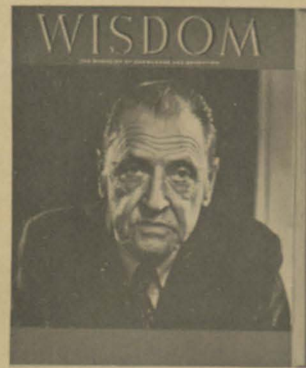
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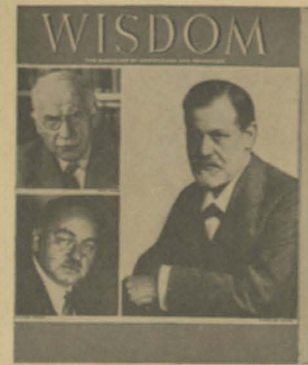
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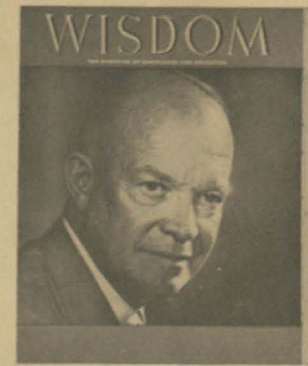
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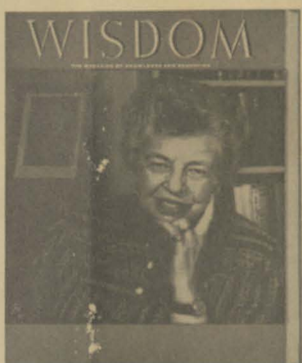
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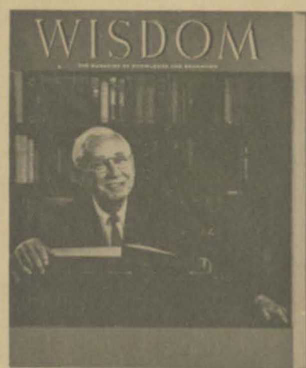
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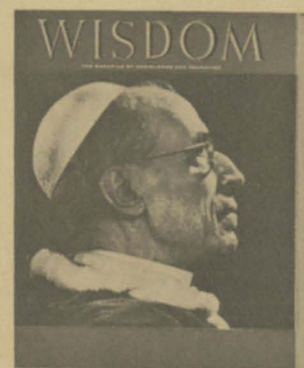
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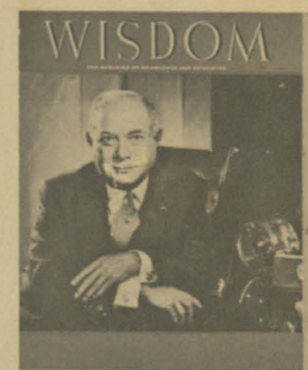
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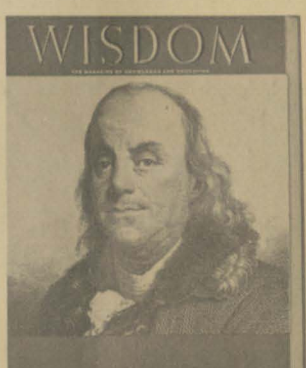
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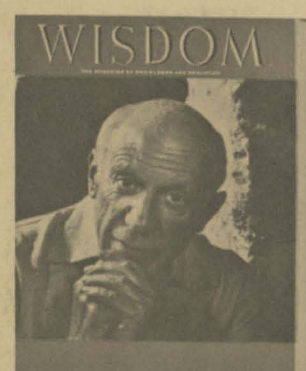
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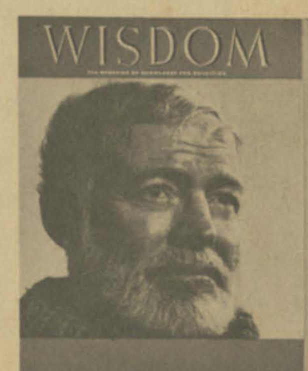
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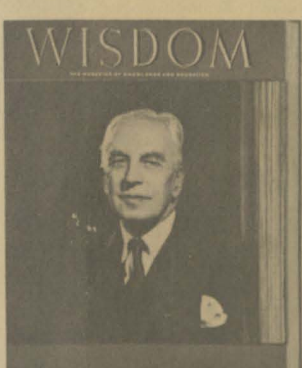
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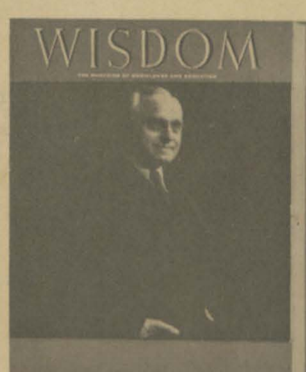
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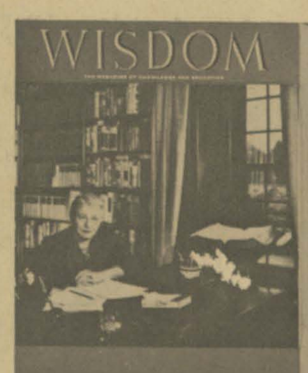
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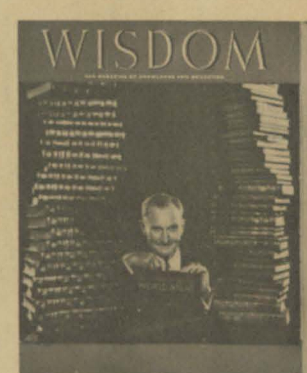
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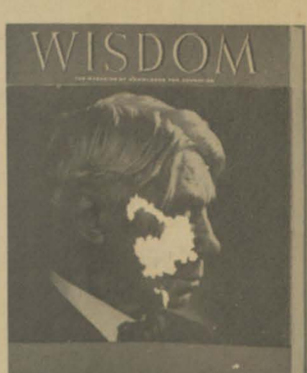
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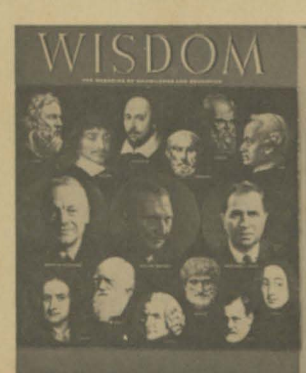
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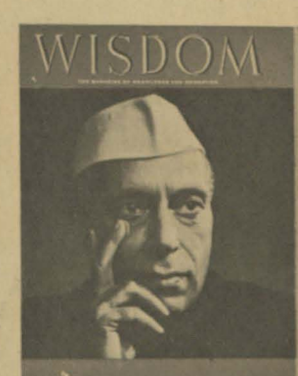
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WISDOM

THE MAGAZINE OF KNOWLEDGE FOR LIFETIME LEARNING AND EDUCATION

LEON GUTTERMAN
Editor and Publisher

IN THIS VOLUME OF WISDOM:

BETTY-JANE LANG, *Editorial Director*
HARVEY THOMPSON, *Art Director*

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At the invitation of the Government of India, and as the President of the United States of America, I paid a visit to India recently.

I received, on my arrival in New Delhi, a warm and cordial welcome, marked by popular enthusiasm and good will. Throughout my stay and wherever I went, these friendly manifestations of good will were repeated by millions of citizens.

In thus fulfilling a desire of many years, I was deeply touched by the warmth of the welcome extended to me by the people of India, and by the generous hospitality of the government.

I was impressed by the vitality of India's democratic institutions, of Parliament, press and university, and by India's strength of spirit combined with practical idealism. I saw how India, like the United States, has created national strength out of diversity, neither country boasting that theirs is the only way. I confirmed the bond of shared ideals between India and the United States, our identity of objectives, and our common quest for just and lasting peace.

I met the President of India, the Prime Minister and other members of the Government of India. Prime Minister Nehru and I had intimate talks in which we reviewed the world situation and exchanged views.

Among other things, I told Prime Minister Nehru that I was happy to report to him that all the leaders of the countries I had visited during my recent journey had expressed to me the hope that problems involving one form or another of conflict of interest or views could be solved by peaceful methods of conciliation. I found this heartening and in harmony with my own thinking.

India won its freedom and its independence through peaceful means. This in itself was a great accomplishment and one that has challenged the admiration of the entire world. But more than that, India, determined to live in peace, has devoted her entire efforts, all her treasure, all her talent, all her brains, to raising the standards of her own people so as to give them a better chance for a better life. These efforts are going to succeed if the world can have peace. All of us know it. The only alternative to global war is peace. The other alternative is too horrible even to mention. The United States stands with India, the leaders of the United States standing with the leaders of India, in our common quest for peace. Nations and people so inspired will yet be successful to complete the freeing of men from the fears and tensions that have plagued humanity.

May I express my deep satisfaction at the friendly and cordial relations existing between India and the United States and our firm belief that our common ideals and objectives and quest for peace will ensure maintenance and development of strong ties of friendship between us.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

President of the United States

Between the United States and India, there existed friendly and cordial relations even before India gained her independence. No Indian can forget that in the days of our struggle for freedom, we received from your country a full measure of sympathy and support. Our two Republics share a common faith in democratic institutions and the democratic way of life and are dedicated to the cause of peace and freedom. We admire the many qualities that have made America great, and, more especially, the humanity and dynamism of its people and the great principles to which the fathers of the American revolution gave utterance. We wish to learn from you and we plead for your friendship, and your co-operation and sympathy in the great task that we have undertaken in our own country.

We are a member of the family of nations and we have no wish to shirk any of the obligations and burdens of that membership. We believe passionately in the democratic method and we seek to enlarge the bounds of democracy both on the political and the economic plane, for no democracy can exist for long in the midst of want and poverty and inequality. Our immediate needs are economic betterment and raising the standards of our people. We are firmly wedded to the democratic way of life and, in our loyalty to this cause, we will not falter.

Ten years ago, we constituted our country into a Republic and gave to ourselves a Constitution based on these principles, and guaranteeing the fundamental human rights of freedom of the individual, equality of man and the rule of law.

I should like to express my grateful thanks to the people of America, to the President and to the others who have been so kind and generous in their friendship. I am tremendously grateful to President Eisenhower for his recent visit to India, for the warmth and generosity of sentiments he expressed, and for the way in which he accepted us as friends. That is an honor and a privilege, and a friendship which we shall treasure.

I assured him of India's wholehearted support in his unremitting efforts in the cause of world peace. To the 400,000,000 people of India this memorable visit, which had long been hoped for, gave an opportunity for a demonstration of deep gratitude, sincere friendship and good will we feel for the people of the United States.

We in India believe in the freedom of the individual, the freedom of the human spirit. And in many other things, too, I have found that there is so much in common, even though we are separated by half the world, between this great Republic and the Republic of India. The ideals that govern this great Republic, the ideals of independence and individual freedom . . . I can assure you that we, in India, adhere to those ideals and that we are going to adhere to them, whatever else may befall us.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Prime Minister of India

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU represents the largest democracy in the world—India. The United States is the second largest democracy in the world. As free and independent sovereign nations, our governments have and share a common dedication and devotion toward developing the kind of world in which individuals can be free, in which nations can be independent, and in which peoples can live together in peace. Mrs. Nixon and I have had the privilege of visiting India, and I can only say that every place we went, there we found the people warmhearted, understanding, and friendly toward the people of the United States. We came back with the conviction that these two democracies, two of the greatest in the world, had so much in common in our ideals and in our aspirations. Our friends in India share America's devotion to the principles of democracy and cherish freedom just as we do.

RICHARD M. NIXON
Vice-President of the United States

THE history of India of the last forty years is inextricably wound up with the life story of Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru is the greater son of a great father who, when handing over charge of the Indian National Congress as its President to his son in 1929, declared the father's wish and uttered a prophecy: what the father is unable to accomplish, son achieves. Jawaharlal Nehru drew inspiration and guidance from Mahatma Gandhi. On many an occasion he differed and made his own substantial contribution to the making up of the program which Gandhi followed. It was not without reason therefore that Gandhi named him as his successor, knowing full well that while Nehru differed from him in some important respects, he was firmly fixed in the most fundamental elements of his thoughts and ideas. Nehru is essentially a man of science and technology, with undoubted faith in their progress and achievements. All the same, at the back of it all, there is in him a spiritual strain which is marked. While placing full reliance on the development of science and harnessing scientific knowledge for the eradication of misery and poverty, he is conscious of the limitations of such material progress without submission to some kind of spiritual principle. Nehru is a man of culture in the widest and best sense of the expression. He is a man with ideas born of study of books and widespread contact with men. His emotional nature and his innate independence of thought have helped him in developing a style of expression which is direct and captivating. He is a gifted writer wielding the pen as an artist. He is a man of ideals aiming principally at raising that part of humanity, in particular, which inhabits India. He is a man of independence of thought and action, and he is not afraid to express himself. He is a man of determination. When he has once set his heart on a particular objective, he will work for it for all he is worth and will not count any sacrifice too great for it. Above all, he is human. It is this milk of human kindness which nourishes all his work in connection with, and for the furtherance of, his social program. The dominant idea underlying such a program is genuine and real sympathy for the underdog. He is loyal—loyal not only to ideals but also to individuals. All in all, here is a man the like of whom treads this earth but rarely and only in a crisis. He has been born and has lived in a critical period in India's history, and has played his part nobly and well. May he live long to see the trees he has planted in such plenty bear fruit.

RAJENDRA PRASAD
President of India

HERE is something that I would like to say from my heart. Jawaharlal Nehru's wisdom, his patience, his far-sightedness will be needed in the next ten years as much as they have been in the past. His personal courage as well as his moral courage and his integrity deserve special recognition. He has stood for the things he believed in. Nehru has tried to educate his people in the ways of democracy. This is a tremendous undertaking with a population as great as India's and with a background of illiteracy to start with. His success is already being proved, I think, and not only India but much of the rest of the world owes Nehru a debt of gratitude for his leadership, for his integrity and his courage.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
Humanitarian

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU has succeeded for many years not only as the unchallenged leader of India but as a statesman whose international status has grown with the passage of time. The greatest contribution that Nehru has made to international affairs is the doctrine of co-existence. He realized early in his career that the only way to peace was the lessening of tensions between different countries and establishing good will and [illegible] between them. A gentle and dignified approach even in matters which he felt strongly was adopted by him rather than an angry or violent approach, with the result that he succeeded where others failed. This is the Gandhian technique. Nehru, who was always passionately interested in what was happening in the world outside India and in the struggle for liberation of dependent countries, was the conscience-keeper of Gandhi as far as external affairs were concerned. It is well known that all resolutions passed by the Congress dealing with the world situation were drafted by him. But even so, the Prime Minister has been considerably influenced in laying down the foreign policy of India by Gandhian philosophy. The principle of co-existence emanated largely from the great lesson that Gandhi preached about peace and non-violence. There may be many short-cuts to solving India's international difficulties, but the Prime Minister refuses to take them because they involve a sacrifice of the principle which he always keeps before him. He believes that the way to peace lies through good will and understanding between nations and however long and difficult the path may be, it is the only path that India can tread. Furthermore, Nehru sincerely believes that in the fullness of time every country will tread the same path. No foreign minister in the world today commands greater respect, not only in his own country but in the world outside, than India's Prime Minister.

M. C. CHAGLA
India's Ambassador to the United States

ALL friends of peace and of humane ways of life should join in congratulating Nehru on his achievements. Few lives can show an equal record of success in the pursuit of important good causes to which, at many times, the opposition seemed insuperable. Mankind is in danger owing to the fact that the Great Powers on either side, in practice, though not in theory, consider loss of prestige a greater evil than the destruction of the human race. In this situation, those Powers whose prestige is not involved have an immense opportunity. Of these Powers, India is the chief. Nehru is known to stand for sanity and peace in this critical moment of history. Perhaps it will be he who will lead us out of the dark night of fear into a happier day.

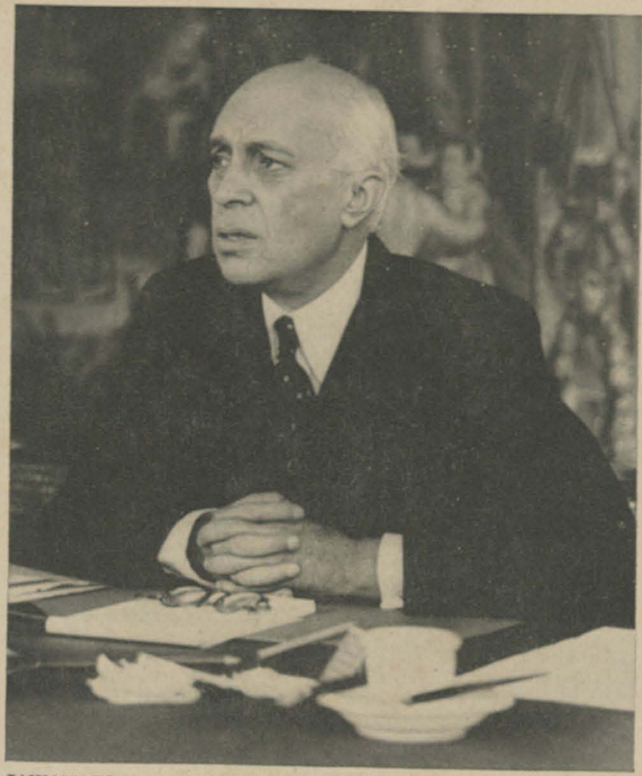
BERTRAND RUSSELL
Philosopher, Scholar, Educator

THE hardest thing in the world is to write about those one loves. I am specially conscious of this because, for many years, I have had a dual relationship with my brother—first as his sister and then as one of his representatives abroad. I have adapted myself to this situation and hope I act objectively in both capacities, but it is not easy. I cannot suppress the feelings that are in my heart. The story of my brother's life is common knowledge but what has seldom been referred to is the way in which he influenced the immediate family circle, not by argument or debate, not by threats and anger, not by an appeal to emotion, but by the force of his own deep conviction that the path he was taking was the right one and the dedication with which he sought to fit himself for the great task. And yet there was never anything self-righteous about his attitude to others, and his sense of humor and the ability to laugh at a joke against himself always kept the family relationship a healthy and happy one. The constant demands of the existing political situation only helped to forge new links which bound us even more closely. My brother has inspired me in many ways and I have learned much from him. What I value most of all is the lesson that life is not lived in little compartments—personal life and public life are both guided by the same principles and one is but the projection of the other. His actions flow from this belief as does his capacity to "lead you to the threshold of your own mind" instead of offering you the wisdom of his own.

VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT
India's Ambassador to Great Britain



LEON GUTTERMAN
Editor and Publisher of Wisdom



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
Prime Minister of India

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU symbolizes the aspirations of the people of India as no one else does. He is the embodiment of India's future hopes and aspirations, guiding it toward the realization of its cherished dreams. His greatness is reflected in his ability to symbolize the positive strivings of his people for freedom, prosperity and peace—the fundamental values of our contemporary society. Nehru is not only the exponent of the dreams deeply nestled in the hearts of the people of India, he is also the expression of human conscience itself. He is what his name signifies—a "jawahar"—a jewel. There is no doubt in the mind of India that it was this belief in his integrity that made Mahatma Gandhi name Jawaharlal as his political and spiritual heir. Since then Nehru has received in abundance the love of his countrymen. They have idolized him; they have worshipped him. To most people in India he has symbolized everything that is good and noble and beautiful in life. India's faith in Nehru is unshaken—in his sincerity of purpose, honesty of action and, above all, in the intensity of his desire to do good.

Nehru's democratic rule embraces 400 million people in different stages of material and spiritual advancement. The task of making democracy a living force in the lives of these millions, and at the same time gaining their material security is his unique destiny. Nehru never hesitated to undertake the task or to meet the challenge. He has shouldered valiantly his heavy load of responsibility with a mind and determination which revealed the greatness of his spirit and the depth of his genius. He taught India how to face hardships and keep up courage even in the midst of all the pains and penalties that fell to her lot. He made tremendous contributions to the struggle of the people of India for their independence and for the achievement of the unity of the Indian nation. Under the leadership of Nehru, India has made enormous advances. He has helped India's millions of people to regain faith in themselves and self-respect as human beings.

The people of India have been drawn to Nehru through the years by his integrity of purpose, his unfailing devotion to duty, his ability to work for an ideal without counting the cost, his abhorrence of anything that savors of injustice and cruelty, his complete freedom from any racial and religious prejudice, his intellectual attainments, his love of people, his love of truth, freedom and justice, his courageous, and ever-youthful spirit.

As the great architect of modern India, Nehru enjoys respect, admiration and influence which transcends the frontiers of his own country. His single-mindedness, tenacity of purpose and patience in struggling with India's vast problems which for centuries have defied solution, and which some people even today regard as insoluble, command universal respect. His intellectual powers, his courage and his high ideals have greatly enhanced Nehru's influence as a world leader. His activities having taken him into a number of international fields, he has influenced the trends of world development. The free world cherishes the highest esteem for Nehru both as a great humanist and a supremely civilized champion of freedom and peace for his own and all other countries. The distinguished American, William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, has written: "Nehru represents a great tradition in democratic institutions. The roots of the civilization he symbolizes are deep in a history and culture that respects the rights of man and that cater for his individuality and even his idiosyncrasies. One of Nehru's most outstanding contributions to the survival of democratic law and democratic traditions on the subcontinent has been his campaign against communism. The history of this period will record that Nehru has been the most effective campaigner against communism of any of our leaders."

Nehru is a man of infinite variety, of eternal youth, with an alert, clear and analytical mind. People are strongly impressed by the strength of his character, the vigor of his intellect, the vivacity of his spirit, the freshness of his outlook, his inexhaustible energy, the radiance of his youth, his attractive manner, directness, humanism and wisdom.

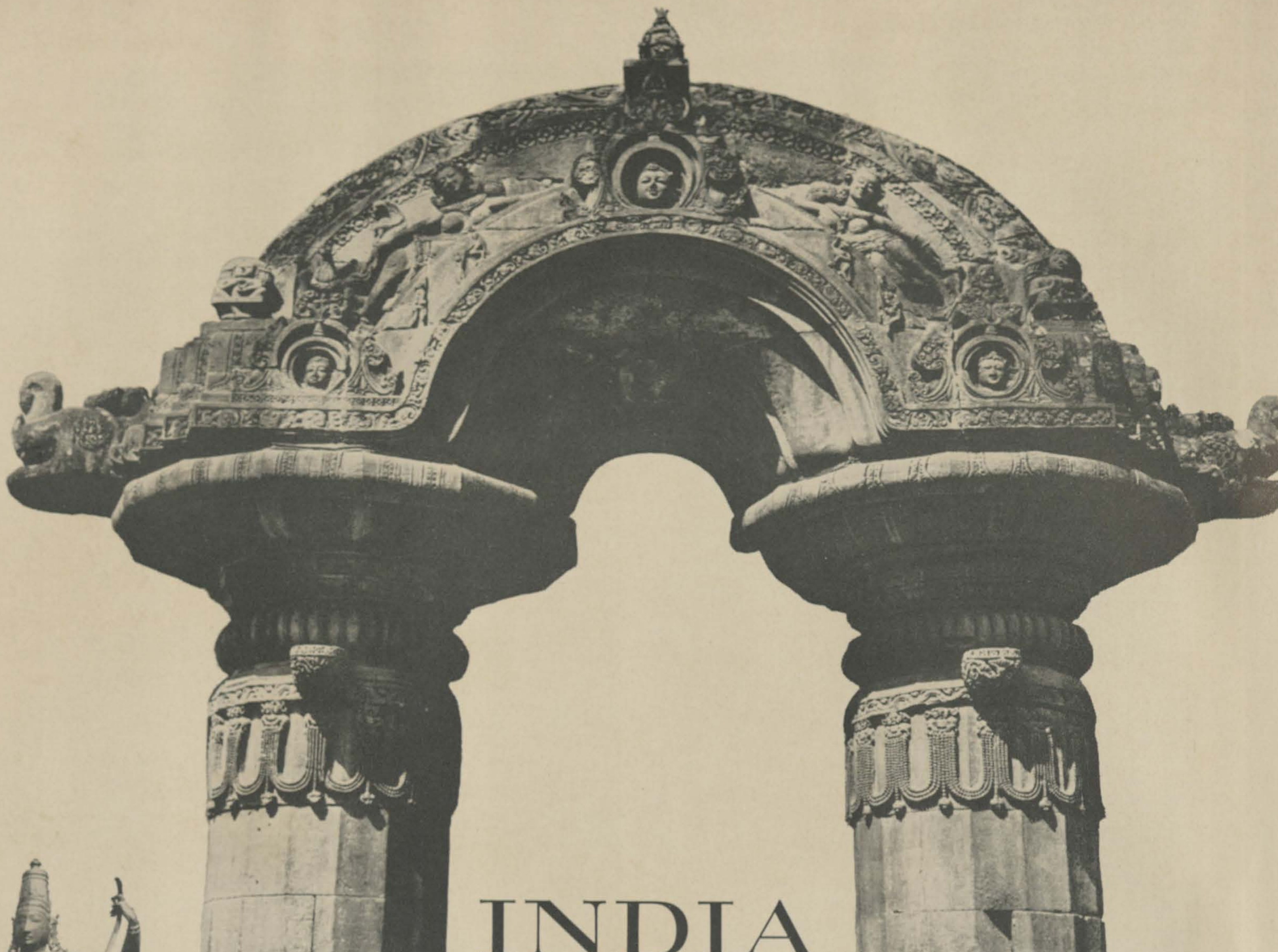
Nehru is one of the few statesmen of the world who have a background of universal culture and great learning, and who are thinkers beside being great men of action. A thinker of nobleness, integrity, adaptability and a measure of humility, whose intellectual vision is clear and honest, Nehru has made significant contributions to the development of the modern mind. He is not only a world statesman and an ardent fighter for freedom and democracy but a historian, a philosopher, a scholar, an educator, a distinguished literary figure, a social architect, an international scientist.

His practical approach to all questions, including those of philosophical and religious truth, is pretty much our democratic approach. It has saved the modern world bitterness and bloodshed and has furthered the cause of democracy. His philosophy, repeatedly emphasized in his writings and public speeches, seeks to restore the supremacy of the mind and spirit in life, for he believes that only the "creative mind" can solve the crisis of the human spirit provided it has social sensitiveness and is illumined by the values of charity, compassion and human understanding. Nehru's historical, social and political ideas, stemming from a logical, rational mind, have made a positive contribution to our fund of human knowledge.

The world has great admiration for Nehru's achievements, and respect and appreciation for him as a great man. Essentially a man of the future, he is a leader in the advance of civilization. He is moved by a profound sense of responsibility to the world at large, and he has absorbed the spirit which moves the world at large both materially and spiritually. Thus, he moves with a conviction that the world is one and that the fate of men anywhere is influenced by what others do everywhere.

Today, Nehru can look back upon a great life of struggle, fulfillment, responsibility and vision. He is important for having given to the world a greater awareness and deeper appreciation of what India stands for, and for having brought the people of India onto the stage of history. With him the people became a democratic nation; they discarded their passive role in history for the active role of citizens with human dignity. Nobody knows more than Nehru that the challenging tasks in the momentous days ahead are just as difficult as any he has had to face, but he faces them now with a wealth of experience, judgment and wisdom perhaps unique in history. He must know in his heart that he has been true to God, to India and to all mankind.

Leon Gutterman



INDIA

TODAY AND TOMORROW

by Jawaharlal Nehru









To endeavor to understand and describe the India of today would be the task of a brave man; to say anything about tomorrow's India would verge on rashness. Indeed, at no time in the world's history has it been more difficult to forecast the future of any country or of the world.

India today is the outcome not only of the immediate past, but also of the thousands of years of the long story of our country. Layer upon layer of thought, experience and action have conditioned us and made us what we are today. Those of my generation in India were especially molded and conditioned by a series of events which are not likely to occur again. Not only did we come in contact with a great man and a mighty leader who shook us up completely, upset our lives and drew us out of the normal routine of living, but we also witnessed and participated in events of historic importance. We experienced repeatedly moments of high tension and emotional exaltation, and also the reaction to this in occasional frustration, almost akin to despair. Yet, this is not wholly correct for we escaped that feeling of mental and physical collapse which usually follows a nervous tension of high degree. There was always something to hold on to, a leader who was like a rock and a lighthouse, and a movement which thrilled us and called out the best in us. Those moments were often not pleasurable and were sometimes even painful, but there was always a sense of satisfaction and a feeling that we were engaged in great deeds and were marching in step with history. Thought and action went together, producing the sensation of a full life. What saved us, more than anything else, was a belief that we were functioning, even in political affairs, on an ethical plane and with high ideals. Hatred did not consume us as it does in conflicts and, more especially, in nationalist struggles.

There was Gandhi always before us and in our minds. But there were others too, giants among men, and there was the comradeship of innumerable men and women whose stature had risen because they were allied to great causes and to a great leader. It was strange that so many people, who differed greatly among themselves, should find a powerful common bond and should work together for a whole generation.

What is India? That is a question which has come back again and again to my mind, and in my own amateurish way I sought a reply to it in her past and in the present. The early beginnings of our history filled me with wonder. It was the past of a virile and vigorous race with a questing spirit, an urge for free inquiry and, even in its earliest known period, giving evidence of a mature and tolerant civilization. Accepting life and its joys and burdens, it was ever searching for the ultimate and the universal. It built up a magnificent language, Sanskrit, and through this language and its art and architecture, it sent its vibrant message to far countries. It produced the *Upanishads*, the *Gita* and the Buddha.

Hardly any language in the world has played that vital part in the history of a race which Sanskrit has. It was not only the vehicle of the highest thought and some of the finest literature, but it became the uniting bond for India, even though there were political divisions. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were woven into the texture of millions of lives in every generation for thousands of years. I have often wondered—if our race forgot the Buddha, the *Upanishads* and the great epics, what then would it be like? It would be uprooted and would lose the basic characteristics which have clung to it and given it distinction throughout these long ages. India would cease to be India.

Gradually deterioration set in, thought lost its freshness and became stale, the vitality and exuberance of youth gave place to crabbed age. Instead of the spirit of adventure there came lifeless routines, and the broad and exciting vision of the world was cabined and confined and lost in caste divisions, narrow social customs and ceremonials. Even so, India was vital enough to absorb the streams of people that flowed into her mighty ocean of humanity, and she never quite forgot the thoughts that had stirred her in the days of her youthful vigor.

Subsequently, India was powerfully influenced by the coming of Islam and Muslim invasions. Western colonial powers followed, bringing a new type of domination, a new colonialism and, at the same time, the impact of fresh ideas and of the industrial civilization that was growing up in Europe. This period culminated, after a long struggle, in independence and now we face the future with all this burden of the past upon us and the confused dreams and stirrings of the future that we seek to build. We have all these ages represented in us and in our country today. Organized power and energy are the symbols of the modern age. We have the growth of nuclear science in India and atomic energy, and we also have the cow-dung age. Thus every century is represented in this country and, in addition, there is enormous variety. Behind that variety there is the unity which has kept our people together through the ages in spite of misfortune and disaster. We are plunging into the world of science and technology and trying to organize our knowledge in such a way that it commands more of the forces of nature, and we are held back not only by our poverty and under-development, but also by some inherited ideas and customs. There is no future for us without science and technology. At the same time that future will be shallow and empty and without any real meaning if we ignore or forget our past.

So, in the tumult and confusion of our times, we stand facing both ways, forward to the future and backwards to the past, being pulled in both directions. How can we resolve this conflict and evolve a structure of living which fulfills our material needs and, at the same time, sustains our mind and spirit? What new ideals or old ideals, varied and adapted to the new world, can we place before our people, and how can we galvanize them into wakefulness and action?

We have our particular problems in India. But we also share the major problems of a world which, for all of its tremendous advance, appears to be losing faith in itself. For the present, in India, we are rightly absorbed in economic progress, Five-Year Plans, and a tremendous effort to raise our people's living standards. All this is essential and a prerequisite for any other type of advance. But a doubt creeps into our minds. Is this by itself enough or is something else to be added on to it? The welfare state is a worthwhile ideal, but it may well be rather drab, and the examples of states which have achieved that objective bring out new problems and difficulties, which are not solved by material advance alone or by a mechanical civilization. Religion has played an important part in supplying some essential needs of human nature. But that type of religion has weakened its hold and is unable to meet the onslaught of science and rationalism. Whether



religion is necessary or not, a certain faith in a worthwhile ideal is essential to give substance to our lives and to hold us together. We have to have a sense of purpose beyond the material and physical demands of our daily lives.

We must look to the future and work for it purposively and with faith and vigor, at the same time we must keep our past inheritance and derive sustenance from it. Change is essential, but continuity is also necessary. The future has to be built on the foundations laid in the past and the present. To deny the past and break with it completely is to uproot ourselves and, sapless, dry up. It was the virtue of Gandhi to keep his feet firmly planted in the rich traditions of our race and our soil and, at the same time, to function on the revolutionary plane. Many criticized him for what they called his acceptance of out-of-date economic theories or for his supporting some kind of traditionalism or even encouraging reactionary forces, and yet, any one who examines the broad sweep of his activities is overwhelmed by their revolutionary consequences. Whether we look at them in the political or the social field, we find some difficulty in recognizing this because we have been brought up in the Western traditions of conflict. He knew that a true revolution comes from the people and not at the top, and that revolution must be essentially social. Many eminent social reformers came before him and succeeded in bringing about some minor changes or in building up a new sect, but Gandhi brought revolution to millions of homes without people realizing fully what was happening.

He seldom condemned caste as a whole (though in his later days he did so to some extent), but by his insistence on the uplift of the depressed classes and the Untouchables, he undermined the entire caste system, and he did so deliberately, knowing the consequences. By his technique of political action, he vitalized hundreds of millions of people, drove out fear from them, and produced in them self-respect and self-reliance. By his stress on the underprivileged and poverty-stricken, he forced all of us to think in terms of social justice. He did all this calmly and dispassionately, avoiding to a large extent, a sense of conflict. Above all, he laid stress on truth and peaceful means. Indeed, truth became a condition of living for him, and his dynamic action was allied always to truth. In doing so, he revived memories in our people of the basic principles which had enriched our race in the past. Thus he built on old foundations, and at the same time, oriented the structure toward the future. The fact that some of his economic or other approaches did not fit in with modern ideas or had only some temporary significance did not trouble him. He was always prepared to adapt himself to changing conditions, provided the base was sound. We have also to adapt ourselves to changing circumstances, but the basic principles must continue to guide us.

When Islam came to India in the form of political conquest, it brought conflict. It had a two-fold effect. On the one hand, it encouraged the tendency of Hindu society to shrink still further within its shell; on the other, it brought a breath of fresh air and fresh ideas, and thus had a certain rejuvenating influence. Hindu society had become a closed system unlike Buddhism, another great product of India's thought. The Muslims, who came from outside, brought their own closed system with them. Thus, two closed systems met; neither being strong enough to uproot or subdue the other. Political triumph did not lead to intellectual, moral or religious conquest. The old Indian tradition and faith were still strong and firm enough to resist the new influence. The Muslims came with a vigorous message of their own and could not easily be absorbed, as previous comers had been absorbed. Nor could they change the essential character of the Indian people. Hence the great problem that faced India during the medieval period was how these two closed systems, each with its strong roots, could develop a healthy relationship. Wise rulers like Akbar and others realized that the only hope for the future lay in some kind of harmony being established.

The philosophy and the world outlook of the old Hindus was amazingly tolerant; and yet they had divided themselves up into numerous separate caste groups and hierarchies. The Muslims had to face a new problem, how to live with others as equals. In other countries where they had gone, their success was so great that this problem did not really arise. They came into conflict with Christendom and through hundreds of years the problem was never solved. In India, slowly a synthesis was developed. But, before this could be completed, other influences came into play. Western nations developing industrially and becoming strong had the feeling of their essential superiority over others and lived apart, looking down upon those they governed. There was a far greater gulf between them and the Indians than there ever had been between Hindus and Muslims.

For the first time, India was subjected to colonial rule and governance from a distant and far off country. Previously, the invaders and conquerors who had come to India had made India their home and did not look elsewhere; essentially they became Indians. Now, a new type of invasion took place which could find no roots in India. There was an impenetrable barrier between them and the people of the country, whether Hindus, Muslims or others.

Even so, the new liberal thought of the West and industrial processes began to affect the mind and life of India. A new nationalism developed, which was inevitably against colonialism and sought independence, and yet which was being progressively affected by the new industrial civilization as well as the language, literature and ways of the West. This influence was largely confined to a top layer of the people, the great mass sinking into greater poverty. Ram Mohun Roy came, seeking some kind of a synthesis between old India and modern trends. Vivekananda brought back something of the vigor of old India's thought and dressed it in a modern garb. Political and cultural movements grew up and culminated in Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore.

Thus, the essential and most revolutionary factor in modern life is not a particular ideology, but technological advance. Where technological change is slow, the old forms continue. An under-developed and backward community has backward forms and social structure which do not allow it to fit in with the modern age of science. But the facts of life cannot be denied and change must come, bringing with it other consequences in its train. That change has sometimes been rather sudden and upsetting, but even otherwise those changes come, though more slowly.

In a democratic society, everything depends on its capacity to rouse the people to greater effort by offering hope and incentives, as well as a progressive amelioration of their lot. Among the under-developed countries, India is perhaps more advanced than most others. During the last few years, there has been definite progress made in building up a base for industrialization, in improving agriculture, and advancing education and health. But, above all, she has had the advantage of the ideals and objectives and disciplines built up by the national movement which brought independence.

Nationalism is still the strongest force in Asia. The growth of this nationalism in Asia is obvious. But, even in Europe, it is becoming more and more apparent. The nationalist urge, in countries which are still under foreign domination, necessarily takes the form of a struggle for independence. In strong and independent countries, it tends to some extent towards expansionism, though it is somewhat checked by opposing tendencies.

We see today a clash between impulses toward a larger integration, such as in Europe and elsewhere, and the centrifugal forces representing traditional nationalism. The great development of science and technology and, more particularly, communications, presses more and more toward larger integrations. And it may be presumed that in this, as in other matters, science, representing the basic facts of modern life, will win in the end. The real danger comes from nationalist conflicts which may lead to war. The possibility of such a conflict is increased by the cold war between the major ideologies in the world today. And yet, behind this supposed conflict of ideologies lies the political rivalry of great nations, each afraid of the other. It is not so much ideology which is changing human life, but the growth of science and technology which are constantly molding social and economic structures. Function influences form. This is so in architecture. It is equally so ultimately in social structures, the form of that structure following its function. Science and technology are constantly changing functions, and so the social structure has necessarily to adapt its form to these new functions.



In a democratic society, that is, where there is adult suffrage and some kind of parliamentary government; the means are provided for the change of function and even form to some extent. But old established forms and vested interests resist change till it is forced down upon them by circumstances. The "establishment" is always resistant to any change whether it is religious, economic or social.

Living is a continual adjustment to changing conditions. Every political, economic or social form has a certain discipline. There is the discipline of religion, and that of social usage, and these include a certain moral or spiritual discipline. When functions and forms change, the older disciplines are weakened and are gradually replaced by new disciplines. The rapidity of technological change in the last half century has made the necessity of social change greater than ever, and there is a continual maladjustment. In the ancient days, life was simpler and more in contact with nature, and there was time for reflection and meditation. Now life becomes more and more complex, and there is less and less of quiet thinking. Even where there is leisure, one does not know what to do with it.

This problem of the use of leisure is gradually becoming a major one in the developed countries although it does not affect India at present and will not affect it in the foreseeable future. A life divorced from nature and more and more dependent upon mechanical devices, begins to lose its savor and even the sense of function leaves it. Moral and spiritual disciplines break up, and some kind of disillusion follows with a feeling that something is wrong with our civilization. Some people talk of going back to nature and to the simpler life of the ancient days. But whatever virtue there was in this, there can obviously be no going back, for the world has changed. An individual may take to renunciation of life, but society as a whole cannot do so. It has to base itself on an acceptance of life with all its problems and difficulties and try to make the most of it. If it did not do so, it would perish.



Fed by the snow-clad Himalayan Mountains, the sacred waters of the Ganges River flow through the holy city of Banaras, where Hindu pilgrims come to pray and bathe. Banaras has more than 1,000 temples.

The advance of science and technology makes it definitely possible to solve most of the economic problems of the world and, in particular, to provide the primary necessities of life to everyone all over the world. It holds the promise of higher standards and avenues of cultural development opening out. Today the welfare state and even a classless society are not the ideals of socialism only, but are accepted by capitalist countries also, even though the approaches are different. Thus, the basic ideals come nearer to each other and there is a possibility of approaching those objectives even though the methods might be different. These methods will not only be based on some logical theories, but will have to depend upon the background and cultural development of a country or a community—geographical, historical, religious, economic and social. Any real change cannot easily be imposed. It has to grow. A country, especially one with an old civilization, has deep roots in the past, which cannot be pulled out without great harm even though many weeds in the form of harmful or out-of-date customs and institutions can and should be pulled out. Even as nature establishes some kind of an equilibrium which cannot be disturbed suddenly without untoward results appearing, so also in a community or a country, it is not easy or desirable to upset old ways of living too suddenly. The attempt to solve a problem in this way might well lead to graver and more difficult problems.

This applies to the external world we live in; much more so does it apply to the inner life of human beings. In dealing with tribal and somewhat primitive societies, it is well known that an attempt at too rapid a change has led to disastrous consequences. The more developed societies may not suffer so much from rapid change, but in the jet age and the coming age of space travel no one knows what biological and other changes may take place.

If that is so externally, then surely even greater changes would take place in the mind, emotions and spirit of man. Man today, as never before in human history, has to live with change as a permanent partner in his activities and his institutions. Indeed he cannot keep pace with this change and though he uses the products of science and technology, he seldom understands them. Education is supposed to develop an integrated human being and to prepare young people to perform useful functions for society and to take part in collective life. But when that

society is changing from day to day, it is difficult to know how to prepare and what to aim at. There is a lack of harmony between a highly technical civilization and the older forms of social life and the philosophy underlying them. The relationship to nature changes, and even the relationship to one's own personality undergoes a change. The value of human personality diminishes in a mechanical society. The individual loses himself in the mass and tends to become merely an instrument in a complex set-up which is constantly aiming at social and economic improvements of the group as a whole.

Many of us attach great value to the development and the freedom of the individual. Ideological backgrounds help or hinder in this process. But perhaps the most potent factor in diminishing the value of individual personality is mechanization and automation.

We see the effects of these rapid technological changes today, particularly in young men and women. Parents and educators and social workers are troubled because of the divergence between young people and adults. The patterns of behavior which were held by the adults are no longer accepted, and there is a rejection of the old moral standards. In extreme cases, there is a tendency to criminality, alcoholism, destructiveness, eroticism in addition to a cynical and negative attitude towards life and work. In a world of constant change and without any assurance or certainty, the hedonistic principles of life have a strong appeal. The continuity of national culture is threatened and a tendency towards social disintegration becomes evident.



Away from the glass-faced new business buildings in Calcutta, Bombay and other commercial centers, the sense of great antiquity in India weighs upon a visitor like the heavy monsoon heat.

My own reaction to events in India or the world is not pessimistic and some faith, which I cannot analyze or explain, fills me with hope for the future. Perhaps this is due to the good fortune that has attended me in a large measure. The greatest good fortune has been the tremendous affection of the Indian people, but even when I have gone abroad, I have met with friendship and heart-warming welcomes from the people everywhere. Thus I have developed a great affection for and faith in our own people in India and also respect and affection for the peoples of other lands. I have realized that what one gives, one receives. If one gives affection, it comes back in abundant measure; if it is hatred, then we get that in return. I have seen and felt that people everywhere yearn for peace and good will and co-operation. If this is so, as I believe it is, then it should be possible for us to turn the tide of events from conflict to co-operation, from thoughts of war to the works of peace.

Fear, I think, is probably the greatest evil, because out of fear rise conflict and violence. Violence is a reaction to fear; so also is untruth. In our ancient writings, it is said that the greatest gift that can be given is that of fearlessness. A person who is free from fear can view things in a right perspective and can preserve a certain integrity in mind and actions. Today we see fear enveloping the world and even the greatest and most powerful nations are affected by it. Wealth and power, instead of lessening that element of fear, actually increase it. None of us, except saints and supermen, can become absolutely fearless. But we can keep this ideal before us and try to achieve it. Ghandi's greatest contribution to India was to lessen this sense of fear among our people.

Fearlessness leads to compassion and tolerance. When we think of the Buddha, it is his compassion that overwhelms us; when we think of Ashoka, it is his amazing toleration that pulls us up from our narrow creeds. The world is full of conflicts, national, international and of race, religion, creed and class. It is absurd to deny or ignore these conflicts, but we can approach them not by way of conflict, but by way of peace and thus seek to resolve them.

Internationally, the major question today is that of world peace. This involves an attempt to solve the great problems and disputes which afflict us. How a solution may come, it is not for me to say. But I think we should be clear in our minds as to the means we adopt and the way we tread to find the solution. It is often said that the choice today is between war, involving almost total annihilation, and some peaceful solution of these problems. If these are the alternatives, then the choice is clear. Having made that choice, it should follow that everything that adds to the tensions of the world has to be avoided. We must come to the firm conclusion that war today must be ruled out, for it does not even promise victory or the fruits of victory. To live on the verge of war and to practice brinkmanship is, therefore, the absence of wisdom. Even though we may differ from each other, we must refrain from angry criticisms and condemnations; we must realize that it is absurd for any one group to call half the world evil or dominated by evil. It is easy to criticize the capitalist world or the communist world, but both have great virtues if they have also many failings, and both tend to move in the same direction in spite of their inner conflicts, and both are governed by the advance of science and technology. The only course open is for us to accept the world as it is and develop toleration for each other. The old conflicts of mutually exclusive religions gradually ended after bloody wars and a new toleration grew up. There is no reason why toleration should not also grow up between rival economic and social theories. Ultimately the facts of life will decide and influence both. It should be open to each country to develop in its own way, learning from others, and not being imposed on by them. In this way, each ideology will influence the other and be influenced by it.

Nationalism is a healthy and desirable state in a people; when suppressed, it reacts strongly, but when allied to too much power, it may become aggressive and chauvinistic. Modern nationalism has been a reaction against foreign imperialisms and racialisms. Racialism still exists in varying degrees in many countries, but it is generally condemned. Only in the Union of South Africa is it the accepted philosophy of the State. It is clear that this is a terrible source of conflict and as it involves domination in its worst form, it must produce bitterness and strong reactions. To leave this conflict to be decided by methods of violence is a counsel of despair, apart from the disastrous consequences which this would bring in its train. It may be that world opinion against racialism will become so strong that no country or group will be able to advocate it or practice it.

Imperialism or colonialism, whatever form it may take, is also completely out of place today in the world and the source of conflict. It exists still in many places and its philosophies influence many minds. But it is a discredited creed and is everywhere on the defensive. A world policy must therefore be to bring about the end of racialism and imperialism and leave countries to work out their own destinies. This might lead to disorder and chaos in some countries, but that will be limited and not affect larger areas and will probably right itself after a while. What is wrong and leads to dangerous consequences today is the attempt of one country to impose its will on another.

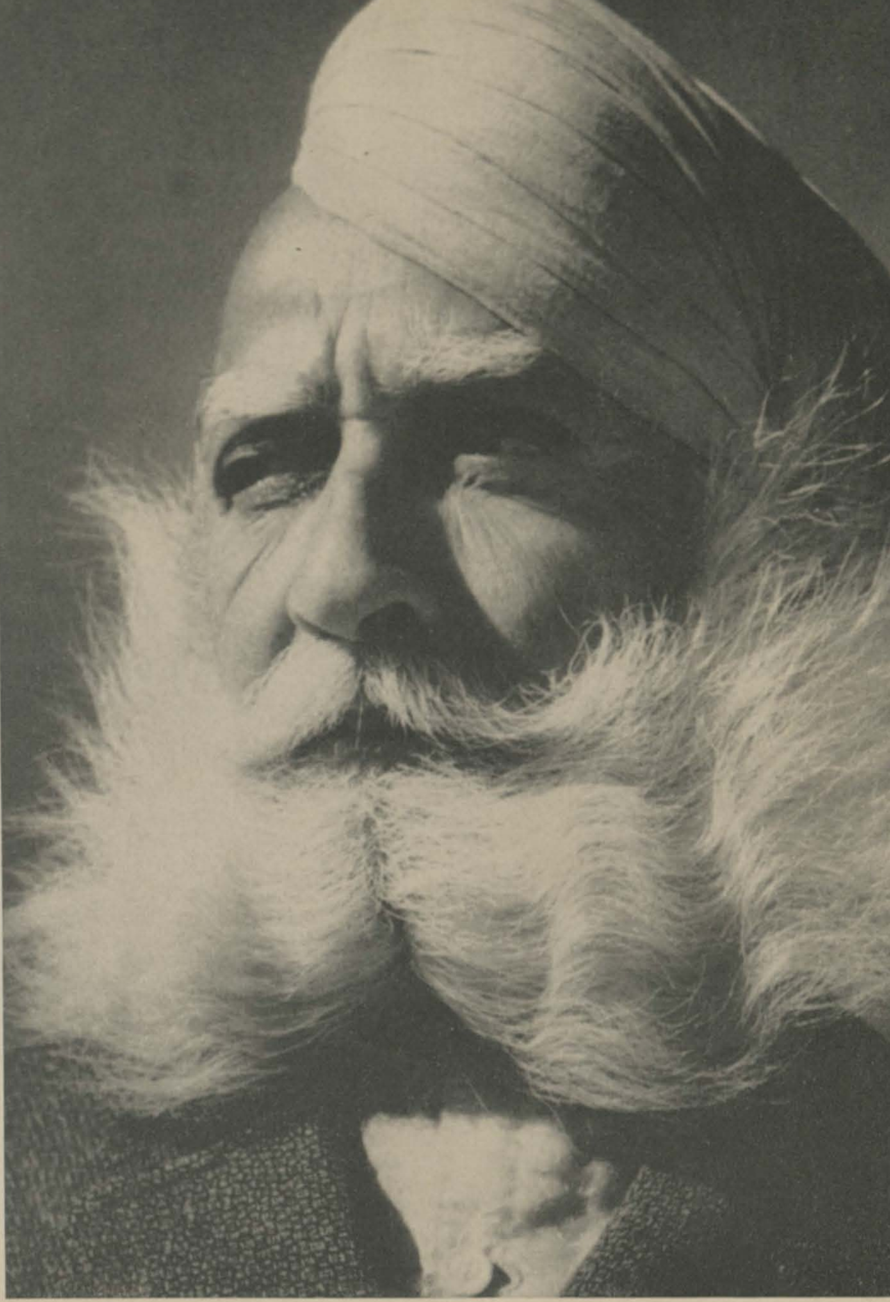
Military alliances and the cold war, whatever their justification in the past, lead today to insecurity and fear of war. They prevent the

normal development of countries and vitiate the atmosphere of the world. So long as there is a cold war, there will be no toleration. Instead of undeveloped countries being helped to grow and raise standards, military considerations come into play and often political regimes which are reactionary and disliked by the people are bolstered up, thus adding further to insecurity.

It is unrealistic to suggest that the troubles, conflicts and passions of the world can be removed by some magic wand or pious phrases. But it is totally realistic to recommend a course of action which tends to lessen tensions and ultimately does away with the probability of conflict. Essentially this course of action is a new mental approach followed by political and economic policies in line with it. Peace is not a physical abstention from war, but an attempt to create a climate of peace all over the world.

In India we have attempted to follow this policy in international affairs though I cannot say that we have always been successful in doing so. Foreign policies depend ultimately on internal conditions and developments. Internal progress for us, therefore, becomes essential if we are to play any effective part in world affairs. It is even more essential, of course, for our own well-being. After the First Five-Year Plan and three years of the Second Plan, we have made definite progress in many directions, some obvious, others not so apparent. The pace of progress has not been as rapid in some directions as we would have liked it to be, but let us remember that it has been solid and substantial progress. Both in agriculture and industry that progress is evident and it is ultimately on this that our future will depend.

Education is the base of this progress and considerable attention is being paid now both to the spread of basic education and technical education. Millions of boys and girls are going through school and college courses and hundreds of thousands are being trained in universities and technical institutes. These figures are only a part of India's population and much remains to be done. But, even so, the numbers are large and as they come out of school and college, they bring a new outlook to the business of their lives. Thus, slowly but inevitably, our social patterns are changing. The greatest and perhaps the most revolutionary change is through the enlargement of women's education. It is these girls and young women who are influencing and will progressively change the whole life of the people of India. For the present these changes have taken place more in cities and towns than in the rural areas, but even our villages are being affected by them and, in the course of another few years, basic education will cover the entire school-going age. Much is said in criticism of present-day education and nearly all of us have joined in criticizing some aspects of it. And yet the fact remains that education is spreading fast and changing the texture of our living.



India's 400 million people constitute a seventh of the human race. This vast population is a mosaic of races, each with its own language and distinctive mode of dress.

There is the problem of population. There has been a remarkable increase in population all over the world, and at this pace of increase it is expected that the world population may be anything between 3,500 and 5,000 million by the end of this century. In India, the estimates vary between 600 million and 680 million by the year 2000 A.D. The figure of 600 million is the least that we can expect, provided we can check the pace of growth to some extent.

There are two aspects of this growth of population. The one with which we are most concerned is that it comes in the way of our economic advance and keeps standards low even though we might be making progress in other directions. The other aspect is that this tremendous world growth of population is eating up the world's resources and industrial materials at a terrific pace. If the entire world functions in this respect as the United States of America is doing today, then probably by the end of the century all the essential materials in the world that are available today will be consumed. That is, of course, unlikely but even if the rate of consumption in other countries is much slower, the available materials cannot last for more than a few hundred years.

Thus two consequences flow: one is that we must check the rate of growth of population and the other, we must find other power sources and materials. Possibly the development of atomic energy will provide us with other sources of power. We in India are most concerned with checking the growth of population and this has become a matter not only of importance but of urgency.

There are two basic facts which we have to keep in mind. One, the tremendous growth of productive capacity in some nations and consequently wealth and power, as a result of the growth of science and technology. The other is the great disparity between these wealthy and powerful nations and the under-developed nations. This disparity tends to increase and, in fact, has increased considerably in recent years, in spite of the efforts to raise the level of the under-developed nations. If normal economic and other forces are allowed full play, they will make the rich nations richer and more powerful while the others will be struggling painfully to meet their basic needs. Unto those that have, more shall be given. Even within a country, the more developed areas tend to advance more than the other areas.

As a result of this, conflicts and dangers of war between nations arise, and social unrest increases in the under-developed countries. On the one hand, power and wealth are sources of rivalry and conflict; on the other poverty and misery also lead to upsets and conflict. Both result in fear and insecurity. Too much concentration of wealth and power does not bring security and prevents a proper understanding of the forces at play in the world. These disparities, whether between nations or within a nation, therefore, should be lessened.

It is not possible to solve the problems of the nuclear age with the



In India, a day's trip in any direction is likely to bring the traveler to a community with its own distinctive speech, dress, food and physical features, as well as religion and custom.

conventional approaches of yesterday. Neither in politics nor in economics can those conventional ideas yield satisfactory results. In international affairs, we see the lack of wisdom in carrying on a cold war with all its accompaniment of fear and hatred, when it is evident that this increases the dangers to humanity and cannot possibly lead to a solution. Nuclear tests are carried on even when eminent scientists tell us that each such test has very harmful consequences in the present and for future generations. Why then are these out-of-date policies pursued which have neither logic nor reason behind them, apart from any moral principle? One would expect an immediate and unanimous decision to stop all nuclear tests and to proceed with a progressive reduction of armaments. Fear will prevent any kind of unilateral step, but reason should bring about bilateral arrangements which are to the advantage of every country.

This same argument applies to economic theories and approaches, and there is little understanding of the dangers inherent in a world largely consisting of mass poverty with a relatively few affluent countries favorably circumstanced. If it is urgently necessary for the under-developed countries to raise their standards, it is equally necessary, from their own point of view, for the richer countries to speed up this process. These problems of today belong to a new world and cannot be solved by the application of old world methods.

It is a tragedy that colossal sums of money should be spent on armaments to the great detriment of social advance in the world. It is an even greater tragedy that the climate of fear and unreason should continue when the way to understanding is open. Understanding does not come through the military approach, which can only lead to more fear and tension. I am not blaming any particular country because, to a greater or lesser extent, all countries are in the grip of this climate of fear and cannot wholly disentangle themselves from it. All we can do is to try our utmost to change this climate in our own relations with other countries.

In the early days of capitalism, and, indeed to a large extent even now, the greatest stress was laid on production. That was necessary then. But it became increasingly evident that production by itself does not solve our problems or lead to happiness and contentment. The passion for riches, for acquisition, for more and more wealth tends to corrupt and to create jealousies and conflicts. If the objective aimed at is social balance in a community or in the world at large, production by itself does not achieve it. Indeed, it tends to create greater imbalances. Thus the problem of equitable distribution and the right use of what is produced becomes important. In the final analysis, what is required is the wisdom of how to live and make the most of life for oneself and the community. Economic policy can no longer be considered as some interpretation of nature's laws apart from human considerations or moral issues.

In India our problems today are essentially of economic development and higher standards of living. We have deliberately laid down as our objective a socialist pattern of society, though we have not precisely defined it. I think it is desirable to avoid precise definitions because they tend to become dogmas and slogans which come in the way of clear thinking in a world which is rapidly changing. But too much vagueness also comes in the way of effective action. There have to be, therefore, definite goals and some clear notions as to how to reach them.

I have suggested previously that each country should develop without any imposition from outside. While help and advice should be welcomed, imposition prevents healthy growth and creates conflict. Therefore, every country should be allowed to fashion its own policy as far as possible, provided it does not do injury to other countries. We must accept that none of us has the monopoly of truth and also that what may suit us may not be suitable to others living in different conditions. We must also accept that we have to live in this world with many things that we dislike, and the only influence we should exercise is by our own conduct and policies and by friendly co-operation with others. In spite of the great difference between rival ideologies today, I believe that the points of similarity are growing and circumstances are bringing them nearer to each other. If fear were not present and threats and compulsion not used, this process of coming together would be hastened. This means that, broadly speaking, the *status quo* must be accepted, whether in the political or the economic sphere, as between nations. Problems requiring solution must be dealt with through peaceful methods.

There are conflicts within a nation. There is a difference, however, as in a democratic apparatus with adult suffrage, those conflicts can be solved by normal constitutional methods. On the whole, religious conflicts do not take place now. Racial conflicts are limited to a few areas in the world, though the racial problem remains. In India we have had most distressing spectacles of conflicts based on provincialism or linguism. In the main, however, it is the conflict of class interests that poses problems today, and in such cases vested interests are not easy to displace. Yet we have seen in India powerful vested interests like those of the old princes and of the big jagirdars, talukdars and zamindars solved by peaceful methods, even though that meant a breakup of a well established system in favor of a privileged few. While, therefore, we must recognize that there is class conflict, there is no reason why we should not deal with it through these peaceful methods. They will only succeed, however, if we have a proper objective in view, clearly



understood by the people.

While an acquisitive society, based on the profit motive, appears to be out of place in the new world that is growing up, it does not mean that there should be no incentives. Incentives will always be necessary though they may not be confined to financial benefits. We have to encourage the spirit of adventure, of invention and of taking risks in order to give an edge and substance to our lives. Private enterprise would still have a large field, but even that should function in a different way and not purely in the acquisitive way. In India we have entered, belatedly, into the phase of industrial revolution. We have done so at a time when parts of the world are in the jet and nuclear age. We have thus, in effect, to proceed simultaneously with both these revolutionary changes and this involves a tremendous burden. We have accepted socialism as our goal not only because it seems to us right and beneficial, but because there is no other way for the solution of our economic problems. It is sometimes said that rapid progress cannot take place by peaceful and democratic methods and that authoritarian and coercive methods have to be adopted. I do not accept this proposition. Indeed, in India today any attempt to discard democratic methods would lead to disruption and would thus put an end to any immediate prospect of progress. From the long term point of view also I believe in the dignity of the individual and in as large a measure of freedom for him as possible, though in a complex society freedom has to be limited lest it injure others.

The task we have undertaken demands the fullest co-operation from the masses of our people. That co-operation cannot come unless we put forward an objective which is acceptable to them. The change we seek necessitates burdens on our people, even those who can least bear them; unless they realize that they are partners in the building up of a society which will bring them benefits, they will not accept these burdens or give their full co-operation. What is called "free enterprise" will never appeal to the masses of our people; it will lead to the use of our resources often for purposes that are not of primary importance. It will mean the exploitation of the profit motive in which the individual may be interested, but not society as a whole.

The strongest urge in the world today is that of social justice and equality. The old feudal system was based on the possession of land by a few and the others living on the verge of existence. No one commends that system today. So also many of the systems prevalent today have lost their hold and are not compatible with either people's thinking or scientific advance.

The nature of the task that we have to face demands a carefully planned and scientific approach so as to utilize our available resources in the best possible way and to direct the nation's efforts toward our goal. It is curious that in this age of science there are still some people who believe in the haphazard method of private enterprise with individual profit as the dominant motive.

There is, I am convinced, no other way but that of co-operation for our rural population. Multi-purpose co-operatives are essential for them and these should lead to co-operative farming. I do not think that collective farming is suited to India in present circumstances and I would not like our farmers to become indistinguished units in a machine. The fact we should remember is that there are too many people in this country and relatively little land. The mere fact of controversy over these issues indicates that progress is being made and we are getting out of the economic ruts of ages.

The Community Development Movement in India started eight years ago and now covers over 300,000 villages. This is remarkable advance and I think that it will produce and to some extent is producing revolutionary results in the country. I know well its failings, but its successes are even more obvious. Effective results will depend on the measure of the people's association with it. Officials and trained personnel have importance, but the real part will have to be played by the average farmer. I think that a new spirit is spreading in our countryside as a result of this community development scheme.

India today presents a very mixed picture of hope and anguish, of remarkable advances and at the same time of inertia, of a new spirit and also the dead hand of the past and of privilege, of an overall and growing unity and many disruptive tendencies. Withal there is a great vitality and a ferment in people's minds and activities. Perhaps, we who live in the middle of this ever-changing scene, do not always realize the full significance of all that is happening. Often outsiders can make a better appraisal of this situation. It is a remarkable thing that a country and a people rooted in the remote past, who have shown so much resistance to change in the past, should now be marching forward rapidly and with resolute steps. We are making history in India even though we might not be conscious of it.

What will emerge from the labor and the tumults of the present generation? What tomorrow's India will be like, I cannot say. I can only express my hopes and wishes. Naturally, I want India to advance on the material plane, to fulfill her Five-Year Plans, to raise the standards of living of her vast population; I want the narrow conflicts of today in the name of religion or caste, language or province, to cease, and a classless and casteless society to be built up where every individual has full opportunity to grow according to his worth and ability. In particular, I hope that the curse of caste will be ended, for there cannot be either democracy or socialism on the basis of caste.

Four great religions have influenced India—two emerging from her own thought, Hinduism and Buddhism, and two coming from abroad but establishing themselves firmly in India, Christianity and Islam. Science today challenges the old concept of religion. But if religion deals not with dogmas and ceremonials, but rather with the higher things of life, there should be no conflict with science or *inter se* between religions. It might be the high privilege of India to help in bringing out this synthesis. That would be in India's ancient tradition inscribed on Ashoka's *Edicts*. Let us remember the message of Ashoka: "The increase of spiritual strength is of many forms. But the root is the guarding of one's speech so as to avoid the extolling of one's own religion to the decrying of the religion of another, or speaking lightly of it without occasion or relevance. As proper occasions arise, persons of other religions should also be honored suitably. Acting in this manner, one certainly exalts one's own religionist and also helps persons of other religions. Acting in a contrary manner, one injures one's own religion and also does disservice to the religions of others. One who reveres one's own religion and disparages that of another, from devotion to one's own religion and to glorify it over all other religions, does injure one's own religion most certainly."

In Ashoka's day, religion covered all kinds of faith and duty. Today we do not quarrel over religion so much, but over political and economic matters and ideologies. But we might well follow Ashoka's advice in dealing with people who differ from us in politics or in economics. There was no place for the cold war in Ashoka's mind. There need be none today.

Tomorrow's India will be what we make it by today's labors. I have no doubt that India will progress industrially and otherwise; that she will advance in science and technology; that our people's standards will rise; that education will spread; that health conditions will be better; and that art and culture will enrich people's lives. We have started on this pilgrimage with strong purpose and good heart, and we shall reach the end of the journey, however long that might be.

But what I am concerned with is not merely our material progress, but the quality and depth of our people. Gaining power through industrial processes, will they lose themselves in the quest of individual wealth and soft living? That would be a tragedy for that would be a negation of what India has stood for in the past and, I think, in the present time also as exemplified by Gandhi. Power is necessary, but wisdom is essential. It is only power with wisdom that is good.

Can we combine the progress of science and technology with this progress of the mind and spirit also? We cannot be untrue to science, because that represents the basic fact of life today. Still less can we be untrue to those essential principles for which India has stood in the past, throughout the ages. Let us then pursue our path to industrial progress with all our strength and vigor and, at the same time, remember that material riches without toleration and compassion and wisdom may well turn to dust and ashes. Let us also remember that "Blessed are the Peacemakers." ♦

WOMEN OF INDIA



by Jawaharlal Nehru

THERE are two views, among others, about India's women. One is the typical old Indian viewpoint of the Indian woman being a symbol of purity, faithfulness and submission and devotion to her husband. The great symbols are Sita and Savitri. The other view, mostly to be found in some Western countries, is that the woman of India is backward, suppressed and treated almost as a chattel. Both these views are far from the truth, and deal with some imaginary conceptions little related to life, for life is much more complicated and these simple definitions do not give use much insight into its working.

Women in India have played an important part in our social life and in our history. They have played this part in every branch of national activity, from high learning to valor on the battlefield. But it is their unobtrusive work in the household, in the village or in the larger community, that has molded the nation.

They are essentially feminine, and that is as it should be. But then I have always felt that India, for all her manly qualities, is especially noted for the feminine virtues—gentleness, tenderness, a certain patient resignation and a quiet and sometimes amazing courage of a somewhat passive kind. I say this realizing that I am generalizing when I should not do so, because there are all kinds of men as well as all kinds of women in this country. But I suppose it is true that the idea of women in India is chiefly connected with these feminine virtues as well as, perhaps, with some feminine failings. Long ago, our ancient law-giver, Manu, descending from the high level of the law, advised as to what the names of women should be. He said: "Let the names of women be good to pronounce—sweet, simple, pleasant and appropriate; let them terminate in long vowels and resemble words of benediction." Thousands of years have molded and conditioned our race. Today we pass rapidly through various phases of transition. That is inevitable and not to be regretted. But I doubt if all these coming changes, big as they are, will uproot us from our old foundations. Someone said about another country words which may be applied to India: "She lives in her own time, in the rhythm of her own history, which does not quite keep time with the clocks of the twentieth century."

Yet the twentieth century is upon us, with all its destruction of the old and hopes and fears of the future. We live in India simultaneously in almost all the ages and centuries that have preceded this middle of the twentieth century. We are busy co-ordinating them and trying to fit them into each other, to keep the old roots and to have fresh branches and fruit and flowers in this present-day world of ours.

We talk of revolutions, political and economic. And yet the greatest revolution in a country is the one that affects the status and living conditions of its women. It is in so far as our revolution has affected our women that it is basic. I believe it has done so, not perhaps in a dramatic and aggressive way, but rather after the old fashion in India of combining change with continuity. And yet there have been many dramatic phases of this change even in our time. It was Gandhi, that wonderful man and great revolutionary, who brought a dramatic change among our women, when at his bidding they came out in large numbers from the shelter of their homes to take their part in the struggle for India's freedom. Once the old shackles were removed, it was no longer possible to replace them in the same way. Attempts were no doubt made to go back, but they were bound to fail.

Now the full impact of modern life is being felt by our womenfolk in the cities, chiefly, and in our schools and colleges. I do not know what the final outcome will be, except that it will be different from the past, though perhaps not so different as to affect the essential characteristics of India's women. Women are playing their part in a multitude of activities and doing well. There is no doubt in my mind about their capacity and now that opportunities are coming their way an increasing number of them will make good.

A Frenchman once wrote that the best way to judge the position of a nation was to find out the status of its women. I think this is correct. In spite of many brilliant examples in the past, I think it would be true to say that the position and status of women in India for many hundreds of years has not been a good one, in law or in public or social life. In recent years they have made good politically and in other departments of human activity. And now I am happy that some of the legislation we have passed in our Parliament has rid them of many legal shackles and thus helped to raise their status. They have many hurdles yet to overcome. But they have been given the opportunity to develop according to their own ability and genius. I have no doubt that many of them will take advantage of these new opportunities and thus demonstrate afresh their inner worth. ♦



Prime Minister Nehru and his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, participate in a Holy Festival. Reflecting her father's high sense of service and dedication, Mrs. Gandhi heads the Indian National Congress.





Sarojini Naidu, a great figure in India's fight for independence, was Governor of the United Provinces when she died in 1949. She was President of the Indian National Congress, was known as a poet, and is remembered for her vital contributions to the emancipation of India's women.

To call woman the weaker sex is libel: it is man's injustice to woman. Has she not greater courage? Without her, man could not be. If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with woman. —GANDHI



All careers are now open to women, and it is up to them entirely to fit themselves for the opportunities created.

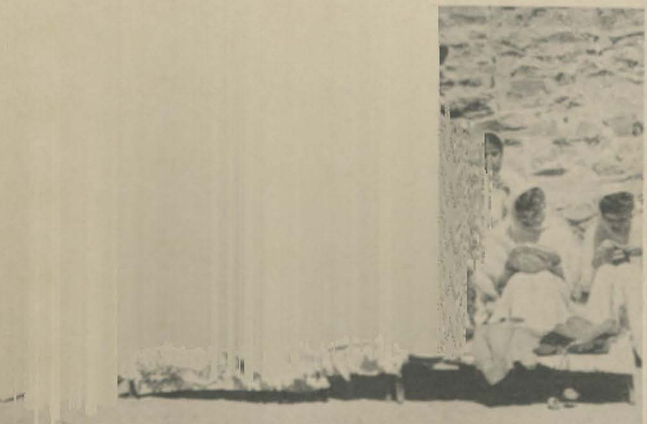


Among the masses, women have always had to earn their livelihood. Their existence was one of toil, but today their status is rapidly improving.



India has advanced well on the road toward economic independence for women. There is a steady increase in employment of women, and equal pay for men and women is aimed at.

Perhaps one of the greatest single factors causing India's peculiar tranquillity, her calm in the face of trials and adversity, is the spirit of devotion that animates her women and the spirit of renunciation that inspires it.



The impact of education on the economic status of women has been as strong as its impact on other aspects of women's development. Women's economic horizon was once limited to household or farm work.





Today, Hindu society reveals many different levels of development. In the villages, the woman is the economic partner of man and shares with him the arduous life he leads.



In a rural society, the home is always simple. It may consist of 2 or 3 rooms with a shed and a courtyard. All this made of simple materials—mud, bamboo and thatch.



Village women do household work, care for their children, and devote hours to carrying water, collecting fuel, and carrying out subsidiary tasks on the land. There is seldom any entertainment except festivals and visits to the nearest towns.

With their feet planted firmly on their own native soil, and with pride in the noble aspects of their heritage, the women of India are adjusting to the pressures and demands of modern living.





CHILDREN OF INDIA





Prime Minister Nehru's birthday, November 14, is celebrated as Children's Day. A feature of the country-wide festivity is the presentation to the Prime Minister of gifts for the children, which include parks, playgrounds, recreation centers, land, libraries, schools and monetary contributions.



THE subject of India's children today conjures up visions of laughing rows of bright school faces, baby shows in a village community, the spanking pace of school children in the Republic Day Parade, and the happy laughter of youngsters in park fairs and festivals. Looking deeper, many other things must be taken into account, perhaps a little of the underlying reality of childhood today and yesterday.

Whatever the changes wrought by history, whatever the sorrows or tribulations of the individual life, the children of India have a solid foundation to their lives. Here, within the settled family bound by ties that were never destined to be dissolved, the new young life could hope, if not always for food, care or education, at least for security. Oddly enough the modern psychologists have taken an involved path to reach the same conclusion, that the security of a settled home is a child's paramount necessity for the growth of a balanced personality. This kind of security has been a recognized factor in India's society for thousands of years.

Observing conditions of children all over the world, however, it is odd to realize that the voiceless element of human life, the child, has always had to wait for social improvements until adult needs were recognized and met. The same has certainly been true in India. While adult welfare work is several decades old, welfare of the child is only now being given the importance it deserves. Education and health formed the first services for children with the development of primary schools and a network of health centers. But in a country as vast as India with its far-flung population of isolated villages, the home has continued to be the child's environment for all its needs, even in modern times.

It is natural that India's educationists, nutritionists, medical men and social workers have set themselves to the task. Little by little, in the last thirty or forty years, a new hope for India's child has emerged. Towns and cities reflected this progress more visibly in certain ways. At the same time, urban conditions of life and pressure on cities from industry and the lure of earning and the inevitable breakdown of traditional pattern of family security have introduced new problems and new hazards to the young. Today India is growing more and more conscious that work for children is not just a sentimental matter but that there is a very fundamental need to give each child a fair chance to grow up into a whole and self-reliant human being. India's population of children is more than one hundred and thirty millions.

Today there is a new awareness of the needs of the child. There is a growing realization that here is India's human capital for the future. For the first time a Five-Year Plan is being prepared with child welfare recognized as a part of planning. What this will mean to the little urchin playing happily naked in a dusty lane will perhaps not be discernible for some time to come. What will happen, however, is that many such children will begin to find health and nutrition being improved, greater opportunities for school and play, and gradually, imperceptibly, changes will become visible. If one can state anything so sweeping, it can be said that for all the neglect of the children in India, the child is still the most important reason for society and all its customs. In the traditional household, children may scamper like puppies under foot, but their place is secure and their needs of love and protection are for the most part met, in the big joint family where there is little loneliness for the child. In such a society—and most of India is still like this for all the sophistication of its towns and cities and for all the manifold signs of progress here and there—the child in India is undeniably mentally secure. While a child frequently lacks basic health, education or opportunity, it has the most important asset of modern scientific reckoning, and that is the familiar, the loved and the unchanging.

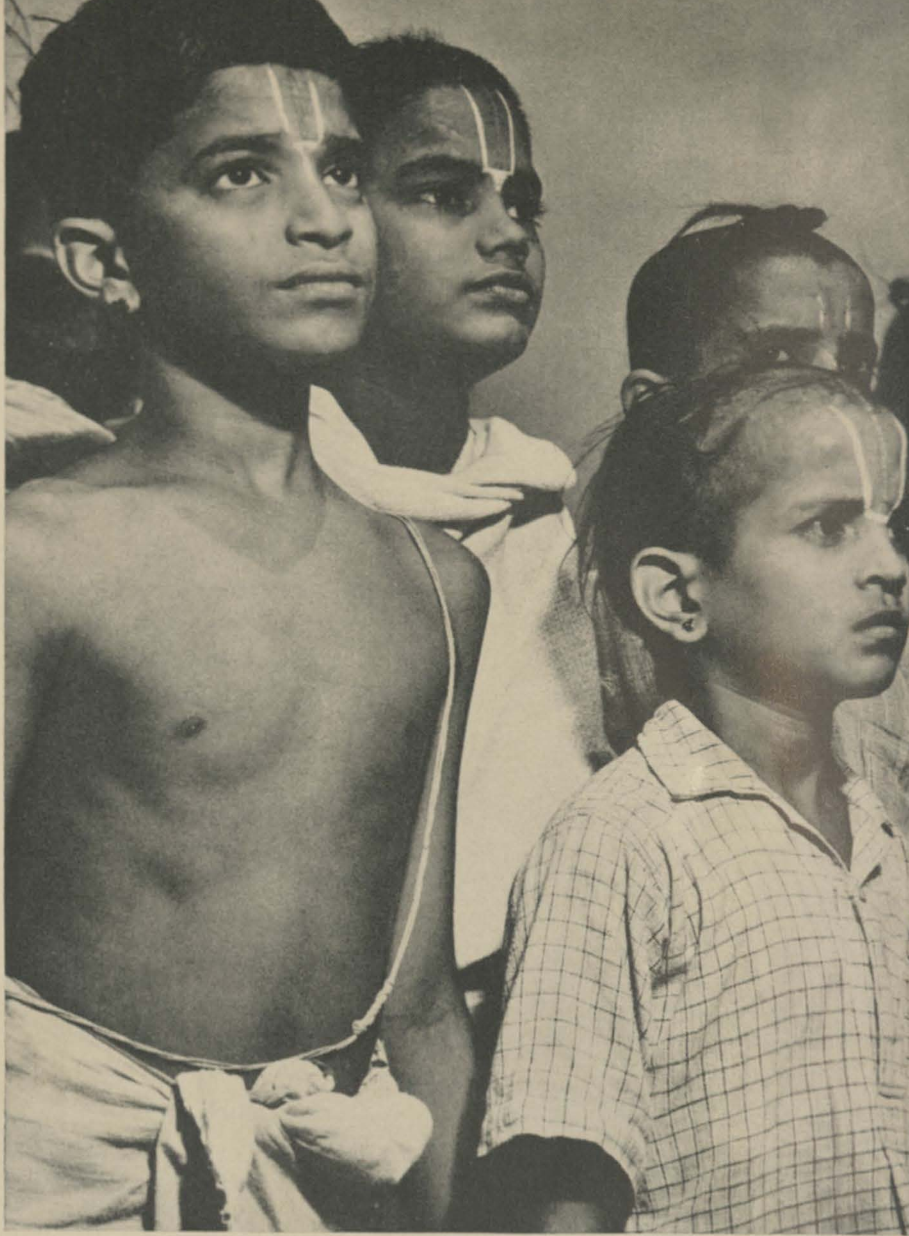
When we think of progress, we often forget these things. A cultivated man looks with pity at the savage, yet the savage knows freedom from possession and doubt that a man of learning might well envy. The Indian child can be likened perhaps to a grubby little jewel, but jewel nonetheless it is. And it is not for nothing that the mother who bears healthy children in India is called the goddess of wealth, for there is wide recognition that without a child a home is poor indeed, and without a child, our life is without meaning. ◆

A child's life in India begins with the certainty of being wanted. Children, especially in the villages, never cry. Within their own society they seem to have no complexes. They are among the world's happiest children, for they are truly loved.





India's children may be hungry because their parents are poor, but they are never ignored or harshly treated. From birth to maturity, they are loved and coddled.



The outlawing of caste has made for equality and a broadening of horizons, both in urban and rural areas. India is moving toward a single society in which it is more important to be an Indian than a Brahmin, Harijan or member of a middle caste.

Education is highly valued in India, and as long as the young remember to treat their elders with all due deference, they are listened to with a respect they could never command in the West, where almost everyone can read.





The people of India are extremely fond of children, perhaps more than other nations. It does not occur to them that they might have too many.



India's villagers are dimly aware of the population increase because children are as much a part of life as the rains, a blessing from the gods.



In the typical joint family household, there is little loneliness for the child. There are relatives—aunts and the grandmother—who tell delicious tales. The adult does not live in a world apart from the child.



India believes that social reform should go hand in hand with educational opportunity. In the past, before independence, when education meant English education, it was not realized that the education of girls is as necessary as that of boys.

The extensive welfare program for underprivileged children in India provides Holiday Homes in hill stations, where children are enabled to enjoy the benefits of healthy surroundings, nutritious food and recreation, for a part of each year.



Voluntary workers have created homes for the handicapped and orphaned, and established pre-primary schools, playgrounds, recreational centers and libraries.





Revitalization of the economic and social life of India's rural areas is essentially a human problem. It is fundamentally a means of recreating the outlook of 70 million families living in the countryside, by arousing in them a zest for new knowledge and new dimensions of living.

The Panchayat, or village council, is believed to be the world's oldest instrument of democratic government. It functions as a judicial court and looks after agricultural production, education, road improvement.





One of India's 560,000 villagers expresses the widely felt affection and regard for Prime Minister Nehru, who believes a "silent revolution" is changing the face of rural India.

RURAL INDIA . . . Villages and Villagers

No matter how prosperous it is, every village household in India has to get its water in buckets or jars from a well, which is often between 20 and 70 feet deep.



ALTHOUGH her cities offer manifold attractions, a majority of the people of India live in the villages. These number nearly 560,000. The typical Indian village is a cluster of cottages around which are cultivated fields; the population of each village varies from 100 to 2,000. To a large extent the village community is self-sufficient; it has its own temple and mosque and its own school, priest, shopkeeper, weaver, potter and barber. The *patwari* keeps a record of land transactions for the Government, the headman collects the taxes, and the constable maintains law and order. A representative council of elders known as the *panchayat* organizes festivals, builds roads, holds discussions and takes decisions on problems of local importance.

The Indian peasant is sturdy, honest and hospitable. Although often illiterate, he has a fund of common sense and native wisdom. Among his few material possessions are metal and earthenware utensils, agricultural implements and a pair of bullocks. From dawn to dusk he works on his farm, while his wife looks after the family, pounds rice, tends the cattle and worships the household deity.

Though full of toil, rural life is colorful. The turquoise blue of the summer sky contrasts agreeably with the green fields and the red tiles or brown thatch of the sloping roofs of the houses. The village maiden drawing water from the well, her rhythmic gait and graceful deportment as she balances her pitcher of water on her head, are the favorite themes of India's poets and painters. Occasional dances, fairs and festivals provide fun and entertainment. The happiest time of the year, however, is the rainy season. After a long spell of heat the monsoon clouds bring rain and joy. The grateful peasant offers his prayers to God in thanksgiving. Women put on their gayest dresses, while boys and girls laugh and sing. The entire countryside gives itself up to mirth.

The face of rural India is changing. Tractors and mechanical harvesters are gradually replacing the wooden plow and the sickle. Canals and new irrigation schemes are bringing more water to the fields, thereby reducing the farmer's dependence on rain. More and more co-operative societies are being formed with a view to protecting the peasants against local money-lenders. With the progress of hydroelectric schemes, rural India is being electrified, and the number of mobile cinemas and the community radio sets are on the increase. More modern roads are being built to link villages with cities, so that the farmer is able to sell his produce at better prices than before, and cottage industries are being revived. With diminishing poverty in the rural areas, a new consciousness is arising in the villages. India's peasant is becoming increasingly aware of his importance in the country's economy. ◆



Hardy men and women, living in an area of sandy wilderness, come to their polling stations on camel back, foot, or other available methods of conveyance, to participate—along with their fellow citizens in other parts of India—in a democratic election.

Part of the immense change taking place in India has been the destruction of hierarchy. India may not become a casteless, classless society for 20 years or more, but the end is in sight; the process of change has become inexorable.



In its recent food sale to India—the largest in history—the United States is not only serving the humanitarian good of fighting hunger, but is helping India to implement her Third Five-Year Plan and substantially increase industrialization.



In a new food agreement with the United States, India will receive 17,000,000 tons of wheat and rice, relieving her food worries while she strives to increase agricultural production.





Village society in India is generally self-sufficient. A barter system operates, according to which services, such as the barber's, are paid for by grain at harvest time. Men and women utilize time between crops for family life.



Life in the village is so warm and comfortable that the villager leaves it only when he is pushed by hunger or ambition. But he retains a deep loyalty for his village, for no success can recreate the warmth of belonging that he has left behind.

The individuality of each village home comes from the earth-colored frescoes so frequently painted on its mud walls. The ingenuity of the women is never exhausted. They spend many hours decorating their huts with their imaginative art.



With improvement in communications, ideas and techniques of community development reach out to the remotest regions of India, ending the centuries-old isolation of their inhabitants.



From time immemorial, the village has played a pivotal role in India's social and economic life, its handicrafts symbolizing the self-contained village community at peace with itself and the world.



THE HINDU VIEW

by S. Radhakrishnan
Vice-President of India

FROM the beginning of her history India has adored and idealized not soldiers and statesmen, not men of science and leaders of industry, not even poets and philosophers, who influence the world by their deeds or by their words, but those rarer and more chastened spirits, whose greatness lies in what they are and not in what they do; men who have stamped infinity on the thought and life of the country, men who have added to the invisible forces of goodness in the world. To a world given over to the pursuit of power and pleasure, wealth and glory, they declare the reality of the unseen world and the call of the spiritual life. Their self-possession and self-command, their strange deep wisdom, their exquisite courtesy, their humility and gentleness of soul, their abounding humanity, proclaim that the destiny of man is to know himself and thereby further the universal life of which he is an integral element.

This ideal has dominated the religious landscape of India for over forty centuries. If we wish to know the spirit of a religion which has had a long and continuous evolution, we cannot get at it by taking a cross section of it at any one stage. It is not to be found either in its earlier phases or in its later developments. Any historical process can be understood only by surveying the whole growth and grasping that inner meaning which is struggling for expression at every stage, though never expressed perfectly at any stage. This is the spirit which binds together the different stages of its history, which is present in the earliest as well as in the latest. What is this meaning, this spiritual core of the Hindu religion?

If we turn to the Indus valley civilization which archaeologists have unfolded for us in recent times, we see that among the relics of a religious character found at Mohenjodaro are not only figurines of the mother goddess but also figures of a male god, who is the prototype of the historic Siva. Obviously many of the features of modern Hinduism are derived from very early primitive sources. Sir John Marshall tells us that the god, who is three-faced, is seated on a low Indian throne in a typical attitude of *yoga*, with legs bent double beneath him, heel to heel, with toes turned downwards, and hands extended above the knees. He has a deer throne and has the elephant, the tiger, the rhinoceros, and the buffalo grouped around him. This figure of Siva, the great Yogi, has been there from nearly 3250 *B.C.* (if not earlier), the date which archaeologists give to the Indus valley civilization; calling upon all those who have ears to hear, the inhabitants of the native land as well as the invaders from outside who frequently pass and repass, to be kings not over others, but over themselves. Perfection can be achieved only through self-conquest, through courage and austerity, through unity and brotherhood in life.

We hear nowadays a good deal about *yoga* even in the West. It means the process, as well as the result, of balancing the different sides of our nature, body, mind, and spirit, the objective and the subjective, the individual and the social, the finite and the infinite. A passage in the *Bhagavadgita* makes out that this world has its roots above in heaven while its branches spread out earthward. The human being has his roots in the invisible though his life belongs to the passing stream of the visible. While he moves in the order of things visible, tangible, measurable in reference to time and space, while his life is subject to succession and change, corruption and death, he is also a spirit belonging to the invisible and intangible world, which we can in no way comprehend, though we think and speak of it in symbols and metaphors drawn from the things of our world. If we think that our nature is limited by the little wave of our being which is our conscious waking self, we are ignorant of our true being. The relation of our life to a larger spiritual world betrays itself even in the waking consciousness through our intellectual ideals, our moral aspirations, our cravings for beauty, and our longing for perfection. Behind our conscious self is our secret being without which the superficial consciousness cannot exist or act. Consciousness in us is partly manifest and partly hidden. We can enlarge the waking part of it by bringing into play ranges of our being which are now hidden. It is our duty to become aware of ourselves as spiritual beings instead of falsely identifying ourselves with the body, life, or mind. While we start with the immediate and the actual, our limited self-consciousness, we can constantly increase and enrich it, gathering into it all that we can realize of the seen and the unseen, of the world around us and above us. This is the goal of man.

The uniqueness of man among all the products of nature lies in this, that in him nature seeks to exceed itself consciously, no longer by an automatic or unconscious activity, but by a mental and spiritual effort. Man is not a plant or an animal, but a thinking and spiritual being set to shape his nature for higher purposes. He seeks to establish order and harmony among the different parts of his nature and strives after an integrated life. He is unhappy so long as he does not succeed in his attempt at reaching an organic wholeness of life. There is always a mental and moral ferment in him, a tension between what he is and what he wishes to become, between the matter which offers the possibility of existence and the spirit which molds it into significant being.

The present crisis in human affairs is due to a profound crisis in human consciousness, a lapse from the organic wholeness of life. There is a tendency to overlook the spiritual and exalt the intellectual. We live on the surface and are afraid of thinking because it is all so confused and disordered; we suffer from conflicts. We are divided from our real nature, cut off from the universal in us by our egoistic impulses and separatist tendencies.

Hindu and Buddhist thinkers, with a singular unanimity, make out that ignorance is the source of our anguish, and wisdom or enlightenment is our salvation. The former is intellectual knowledge which produces self-consciousness and self-will. Our anxieties are bound up with our intellectuality, whose emergence at the human level causes a fissure or cleavage in our life. The break in the normal and natural order of things in human life is directly traceable to man's intellectuality, the way in which he knows himself and distinguishes himself from others.

Firstly, he thinks and imagines an uncertain future which rouses his hopes and fears. The rest of nature goes on in absolute tranquillity. But man becomes aware of the inevitability of death. This knowledge of death produces the fear of death. He worries himself about ways and means by which he can overcome death and gain life eternal. His cry is: Who shall save me from the body of this death? Though he is born of the cosmic process he feels himself at enmity with it. Nature, which is his parent, is imagined to be a threat to his existence. An overmastering fear thwarts his life, distorts his vision, and strangles his impulse.

Secondly, man's naïve at-oneness with the living universe, his essential innocence or sense of fellow feeling, is lost. He does not submit willingly to a rational organization of society. He puts his individual preferences above social welfare. He looks upon himself as something lonely, final, and absolute, and every other man as his potential enemy. He becomes an acquisitive soul, adopting a defensive attitude against society.

Thirdly, the knowledge of death and the knowledge of isolation breed inner division. Man falls into fragmentariness. He becomes a divided, riven being, tormented by doubt, fear, and suffering. His identity splits, his nucleus collapses, his naïveté perishes. He is no more a free soul. He seeks for support outside to escape from the freezing fear and isolation. He clings to nature, to his neighbors, or to anything. Frightened of life, he huddles together with others. The present nervousness of mankind, where fear is the pervasive element of consciousness, where we are always taking precautions, avoiding entanglements, where life is always on the defensive, where man has lost his community with nature and man, is another name for spiritual death. The world in which we live today, the world of incessant fear and violence, of wars and rumors of wars, where we are afraid of everything, suspect mines under our feet, snipers in thickets, poison in the air we breathe and the very food we eat, is nothing but the ordinary life of ignorance hurried up, intensified, and exaggerated. The tragedy is that we are not conscious of our ignorance. The more sick, the less sensible.

Hinduism adopts a rationalist attitude in the matter of religion. It tries to study the facts of human life in a scientific spirit, not only the obvious facts, the triumphs and defeats of men who sleep in spiritual unconsciousness, but the facts of life's depths. Religion is not so much a revelation to be attained by us in faith as an effort to unveil the deepest layers of man's being and get into enduring contact with them.

The religions of the world can be distinguished into those which emphasize the object and those which insist on experience. For the first class, religion is an attitude of faith and conduct directed to a power without. For the second, it is an experience to which the individual attaches supreme value. The Hindu and the Buddhist religions are of this class. For them religion is salvation. It is more a transforming experience than a notion of God. Real religion can exist without a definite conception of the deity but not without a distinction between the spiritual and the profane, the sacred and the secular. Even in primitive religion, with its characteristic phenomena of

magic, we have religion, though not a belief in God. In theistic systems the essential thing is not the existence of the deity, but its power to transform man. Enlightenment, which Buddha attained and his followers aim at, is an experience. Perfect insight is the end and aim of the Buddhist eightfold path.

There are systems of Hindu thought like the Samkhya and the Jaina which do not admit God but affirm the reality of the spiritual consciousness. There are theists like Ramanuja for whom the spiritual consciousness, though not God Himself, is the only way in which God can be known. All, however, are agreed in regarding salvation as the attainment of the true status of the individual. Belief and conduct, rites and ceremonies, authorities and dogma, are assigned a place subordinate to the art of conscious self-discovery and contact with the Divine.

Now and again the criticism is brought against the Hindu ideal that it is not sufficiently ethical in character. It is difficult to know what exactly this criticism means. An ideal which requires us to integrate ourselves, to maintain a constant fight with the passions which impede the growth of the soul, to wage war on lust, anger, and worry, cannot but be deeply ethical. The power to perceive reality, to absorb it and be absorbed by it, is the reward of a severe and sustained process of self-purification.

Nor can it be said that the saint does not believe in the efficacy of human action, in the power of suffering and sacrifice to redeem the world. Those who realize that every soul belongs to God cannot help working for the divinization of the world. The great march of humanity towards the far-off divine ideal is directed and held together in the central lines by the effort and example of the saints, who are the natural leaders of mankind. Religion is not for them a refuge from reality. They do not escape to a world of fantasy and thus evade the responsibilities of life. The Hindu ideal affirms that man can attain his immortal destiny here and now. The Kingdom of God is within us and we need not wait for its attainment till some undated future or look for an apocalyptic display in the sky. It is true that the deepest secret of spiritual life is hidden from the common view and can be attained only with an effort. This effort is a lonely one, a flight of the alone to the alone. It is also true that when the world tires us we go back to ourselves, plunge into the deep wells of our spiritual being and return from it refreshed, serene, satisfied, and happy. On that account, we cannot say that life has become individualistic. As a matter of fact it is an escape from individualism. When the perfected individual works for the world, he is the channel through which the Divine influence flows. He is only the instrument. He works in the spirit of the words, "I, yet not I."

The criticism has obvious reference to the political failure of India despite her profession of exalted spiritual ideals. Her leaders dwelt in prayer and let the legions pass by. Solitude and isolation were the roots of their existence. At best they fed the deer and held converse at night with the stars, healed the sick, and preached the word of God.

The criticism, which is partly justified, amounts to this, that India did not till recently take to the cult of the nation. We did not make our country a national goddess, with an historic destiny, a sacred mission, and a right of expansion. We did not tell the people that the enemy of India is the enemy of God and if the enemy said he, too, had a god, he could only be a false god. Our leaders disdained to become leaders of hosts, proclaiming to the people that we are the finest people on earth, the chosen race of the universe. Secondly, let us remember that conquests and empires do not result from the exercise of religious virtues. With all her poverty and degradation, her suffering and subjection, India still bears witness to the cult of the spirit.

It is not right to complain that India has failed because she has followed after things spiritual. She has failed because she has not followed after them sufficiently. She has not learned how to make spirit entirely the master of life, but has created in recent times a gulf between spirit and life and has rested in a compromise. Some of our holy men are inclined to become creatures set apart, beings who take flight from the temporal in order to cling to the heart of the eternal. If, in our eagerness to seek after God, we ignore the interests of humanity, we may produce a few giants but we will not elevate the race. We have shown how high individuals can rise by spiritual culture and how low a race can fall by its one-sidedness. To master life, to accept it and improve it, is a difficult task for the individual and more difficult for the race. Harmony of the social order is an essential aim of the spiritual man.

To be inspired in our thoughts by divine knowledge, to be moved in our will by the divine purpose, to mold our emotions into harmony with divine bliss, to get at the great self of truth, goodness, and beauty to which we give the name of God as a spiritual presence, to raise our whole being and life to the divine status, is the ultimate purpose and meaning of human living. Some exceptional individuals have achieved this status and harmony. They are the highest type of humanity yet reached and indicate the final shape which humanity has to assume. They are the forerunners of the new race. These men with wisdom and vitality, constant awareness and unremitting social effort, are not members of limited groups based on blood and soil, but citizens of a world yet unborn, still in the womb of time.

The Hindu attitude is based on a definite philosophy of life which assumes that religion is a matter of personal realization. Creeds and dogmas, words and symbols, have only an instrumental value. Their function is to aid the growth of spirit by supplying supports for a task that is strictly personal. Spirit is free being, and its life consists in breaking free from conventions and penetrating into true being. The formless blaze of spiritual life cannot be expressed in human words. We tread on air so thin and rare that we do not leave any visible footprints. He who has seen the real is lifted above all narrowness, relativities, and contingencies. When we are anchored in spirit we are released from a multitude of opinions. Authority is no longer binding, and ritual is no longer a support. The name by which we call God and the rite by which we approach Him do not matter much.

Hinduism recognizes that each religion is inextricably bound up with its culture and can grow organically. While it is aware that all religions have not attained to the same level of truth and goodness, it insists that they all have a right to express themselves. Religions reform themselves by interpretation and adjustment to one another. The Hindu attitude is one of positive fellowship, not negative tolerance. The different cults are brought into mutually helpful relations. Hinduism, and its offshoot Buddhism, spread over a large part of Asia, not only in Kashmir and Assam, Burma and Ceylon, but also in China and Cambodia, Korea and Japan. The movement found its way northward into Bactria, and beyond that to Chinese Turkestan, Tibet, and Mongolia. The permeation of the religious spirit of India from the Pacific Ocean almost to the Mediterranean is not based on a conviction of the finality of its particular faith and the futility of the rest. Hinduism and Buddhism do not work from outward to inward, but work from within outward. They do not change the label and wait for a change in life, but change the life while retaining the labels.

All the religions in the world, like all the women in the world, do not compare with the one that is our own. It strangers are skeptical, it is because they do not know. Hinduism respects this sentiment and effects the change in the essentials. We can understand only so much of the divine truth as has some correspondence with our own nature and its past development. Man cannot be remade overnight. By a practical deepening of experience we alter the ideas. The nobler the man, the worthier is his conception of God and the purer his worship. By raising the standard of religious life we clarify the vision. When you let in strong sunlight, cobwebs disappear. Beliefs which are irrational and practices which are repugnant to our conscience get transformed in the new atmosphere into which they are brought. Falsehood carries within itself the seed of its own decay, so that if you give it time, it will surely perish. If we substitute one form of words for another the new form points to no objective and significant reality to the old man. A vital process must happen before the new form acquires meaning.

The universal prayer of the Hindus, coeval with India's cultural history, asks us to seek the truth fearlessly and with single-minded sincerity. It assumes faith in the strength of the human soul and in an end to human effort. For a religious soul there is no rest from the striving to see what he cannot yet see and to become what as yet he is not. Those who tell us that, if only we believe our mental histories will end, our spiritual journeys will be over, do not understand the life of religion. The prayer requires us not to lose ourselves, but to find our true self, naked and without the mask of falsehood, to live our lives on the highest plane of self-criticism and human aspiration. Buddha warns us against mental sloth or stupidity. We must daily examine our life and thought in the light of truth, and throw away whatever is false or has served its day. Truth requires no other authority than that which it contains within itself. Only, we must not forget that the commandment to love one another is itself part of the truth which must be held at all costs. The greatest requirement of human life is to be loyal to truth as one sees it. Above all, one must learn to be loyal to the spirit of loyalty in other people, even when we do not share their visions of truth. The supreme object of loyalty is the spirit of loyalty. This word loyalty is the essence of religion. It is the deepest truth and the widest charity. The greatest contribution we can make to religious growth is to impart the inquiring spirit, the spirit of devotion to truth which is larger than any tradition or system of beliefs and symbols. Religious life becomes a co-operative enterprise binding together different traditions and perspectives to the end of attaining a clearer vision of the perfect reality.

The triumphs of this method of religious reform have been striking: no less so are its failures. After these many centuries, Hinduism, like the curate's egg, is good only in parts. It is admirable and abhorrent, saintly and savage, beautifully wise and dangerously silly, generous beyond measure and mean beyond all example. It is strange how long primitive superstitions will last, if we do not handle them roughly. When they were taken over by Hinduism, they were given added respectability. It is not easy to move men to quit their old ways, overcome indolence and inertia, and venture on new paths. Though the most revolting practices of cannibalism, polyandry, and human sacrifices were soon abolished, others, such as animal sacrifices, repugnant to our moral sentiments, still persist. While we may criticize the cheap assurance of reformers, they are morally a force to be greatly welcomed, for they have the quality of a faith that moves mountains. The Hindu method, being a democratic one, is more expensive and wasteful. Reform by consent is slower than reform by compulsion in religion as in politics, but it has the human touch. Life is a school of patience and "charity suffereth long." An extensive application of the principle of liberty, equality, and fraternity has made Hinduism the most elastic of all religions, the most capable of adapting itself to new conditions. ♦



WISDOM OF BUDDHA

Approach with serenity both joy and sorrow—if you are to attain wisdom.

When a man speaks or acts with good intention, then happiness follows him like his shadow that never leaves him.

Sound health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness, the greatest of riches, trust the greatest of qualities.

The sensible man is not influenced by what other people think.

The wise man builds no hopes for the future, entertains no regrets for the past.

Wisdom makes light the darkness of ignorance.

Being neither jealous nor greedy, being without desires, and remaining the same under all circumstances—this is nobility!

Shun worthless associates with their empty talk and mundane ambitions.

Foolish friends are worse than wise enemies.

He who endures in troubled times is strong to reach the final bliss when trouble ends.

It is in the very nature of things that we must eventually be parted from all that is near and dear to us.

Knowledge crowns endeavor with success.

The perfect man is he who depends upon that philosophy which shows him the folly of depending upon anything.

Observing that man is the slave to desire, remain careful yourself.

Be tolerant among the intolerant, gentle among the violent, and free from greed among the greedy.

Tranquil is he whose strength is wisdom and purity, who is composed and calm, whose joy is in meditation, who is free of ties and obstructions.

Change, impermanence is a characteristic of life.

He who has tasted the sweetness of solitude and tranquillity becomes free from fear and free from sin.

Though a man go out to battle a thousand times against a thousand men, if he conquers himself he is the greater conqueror.

The wise man regards thoughtfulness as a most valuable treasure.

All that we are is the result of what we have thought.

Do not overrate what you have received, nor ever envy others. He who envies others does not obtain peace of mind.

If a man does what is good, let him do it again; let him delight in it, for the accumulation of good is delightful.

The thoughtful do not die; the thoughtless are as if dead already.

As regards things seen and heard, remain unswayed by prejudice: be not misled.

It is better to live alone, for there is no companionship in a fool.

Nothing is better than good company; nothing is worse than bad company.

Be truthful, be patient, be generous: these are the three steps to godliness.

Peace comes from within. Do not seek it without.

Selfishness is the cause of sorrow.

Keep your mind alert, though not dwelling upon worldly matters; be pure, independent, and devoted to the noble life.

A tamed mind brings happiness.

As noble swans fly in the path of the sun, so the wise transcend this world.

The sensible man is not impressed by what conventional people do or say.

Let your diet be spare, your wants moderate, your needs few. So, living modestly, with no distracting desires, you will find content.

There is a taint worse than all taints, and its name is ignorance.

In times of adversity never complain, nor yearn for change of circumstance. Fear not!

The world is enveloped in ignorance.

Let a man avoid evil deeds as a man who loves life avoids poison.

Be content to live alone, aloof; for the independent way is the way of wisdom.



WISDOM OF HINDUISM

Truly richer than all riches, better than the best of gain, wisdom is; unbound, secure—once won, none loses her again. Bringing dark things into daylight, solving doubts that vex the mind, like an open eye is wisdom—he that has her not is blind.

By their own deeds men go downward. By their own deeds upward they mount.

Loving solitude, and shunning the noise of foolish crowds; resolute endeavor to reach perception of the utmost soul, and grace to understand the gain it were so to attain—that is true wisdom. And what is otherwise is ignorance.

There is no peace, no hope, nor happiness for him who doubts.

Appreciate good thoughts, your own and those of others, as soon as you recognize them. Nothing will aid you as much as good thoughts in the accomplishment of the true task of your life.

Cut with the sword of wisdom the doubt that binds your heart! Cleave the bond born of ignorance!

He is the true friend who is beside us when trouble comes our way.

Desire is a sickness that is hard for the foolish to abandon, which ages not with man's aging, which only ends with life itself; blessed is he who frees himself from it!

Pitiful is the one who fearing failure, makes no beginning.

Temporal blessings pass like a dream, beauty fades like a flower, the longest life disappears like a flash. Our existence may be likened to the bubble that forms on the surface of water.

Blessed is the man who learns, even while he lives and bears his body's chain, to master lust and anger.

When you have the golden gift of contentment, you have everything.

The man of merit and ability is always humble and meek, but the fool is always puffed up with vanity.

Only he who is not swayed by things of the senses shows perfect wisdom.

The whole secret of existence is to have no fear. Never fear what will become of you, depend on no one. Only the moment you reject all help are you free.

True religion is to love, as God has loved them, all things, whether great or small.

To know what is good and what is ill, that is true knowledge.

Those who seek for fame are under delusion. They forget that everything is ordained by the Great Disposer of all things—the Supreme Being, and that all is due to the Lord and to no one else. It is the wise who say always, "It is Thou, It is Thou, O Lord," but the ignorant and the deluded say, "It is I, It is I."

When misfortunes befall you, know that they are not due to what you have done, but to what you have thought.

He who feeds us is our father; he who helps us is our brother; he who places his confidence in us is our friend; those whose sentiments accord with ours are our kinsmen.

Put God behind everything.

There are four ways of examining a man—by his conversation, disposition, family and conduct.

The fruit of ignorance is deeper darkness.

The following are among those who cannot gain self-knowledge: those who boast of learning, those who are proud of knowledge, and those who are vain of riches.

He who loves and cultivates knowledge has no taste for idleness.

Good deeds come from good thoughts only. Cherish good thoughts, searching for them in books of wisdom, in sensible conversations and above all in your inner self.

That man alone is wise who remains master of himself.

A wise man's virtues, born of his nature, are serenity, self-mastery, religion, purity, patience, uprightness, learning, and to know the truth of things which be.

The five joys of life are his who has: ease, health, reverent children, wisdom and a soft-voiced wife.

Scorn those who follow virtue for her gifts.

Just as a candle cannot burn without a fire, man cannot live without a spiritual life. The spirit dwells in all men, but not all men are aware of this. Happy is the life of him who knows this, and unhappy his life who does not know it.

The wise are free of a thousand sorrows and a hundred dreads that each day trouble foolish heads.

The noble soul is not elated in good fortune, in misfortune not dismayed; always eloquent in council; fearless always in the fight; proud of honor; steadfastly on wisdom set.

INDIA is being speedily industrialized, but agriculture still occupies a vital place in her economic life. It supports seventy per cent of her population and is the primary source of national wealth. The vastness of the country's agricultural resources and the variety of its products are remarkable. Substantial quantities of cotton, jute, coffee and rubber are being produced. Commercial crops cover twenty per cent of the cultivated area and form the bulk of the country's export trade. India is the world's largest producer of oil seeds and tea, and the second largest grower of tobacco.

When the First Five-Year Plan was launched in 1951, India, faced with critical shortages of food and essential raw materials, placed great emphasis on agricultural development and multi-purpose river valley projects, in addition to plans for increasing the production of food grains and important commercial crops and improving the related fields of marketing, fisheries, animal husbandry, soil conservation and forestry. Although the emphasis shifted to industry under the Second Five-Year Plan, the emergence of stresses and strains in India's economy once again focused attention on the vital importance of agricultural development as a prerequisite for quickening the tempo of economic growth.

Agricultural production in India has increased greatly during the last few decades, yet it has not kept pace with the rapid growth of population and the food shortage continues to be a problem. Due also

AGRICULTURE AND INDIA'S ECONOMY

to growing incomes and the increased purchasing power of the people, a gap exists between demand and supply. In order to fill this gap, every effort is being made to bring waste land under cultivation through reclamation and colonization, in an attempt to not only sustain the rise of agricultural productivity, but substantially increase it. Extensive research has been carried on under the auspices of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, and the institutes attached to the Council have developed new varieties of wheat, sugar and rice which are better suited to India's soil and climate. They have also helped to check soil erosion, fight locusts and treat cattle and poultry for diseases formerly considered incurable.

That there is considerable room for improvement in agricultural productivity is evident from the fact that, while the per acre yield of crops has shown a definite improvement since the initiation of the Five-Year Plan, the quantity produced is still considerably below that obtained in other countries. The basic agricultural problem of India is, therefore, to appreciably increase the level of productivity, and the numerous developmental programs employed in the agricultural area are directed toward attaining this goal. ♦

Food crops occupy nearly 80 per cent of the cultivated area, with rice the staple crop. Culling the rice, like planting and harvesting, is still done primitively in many areas.



A majority of the people live in the villages and are engaged in agricultural pursuits; women share the hard physical labor with the men.





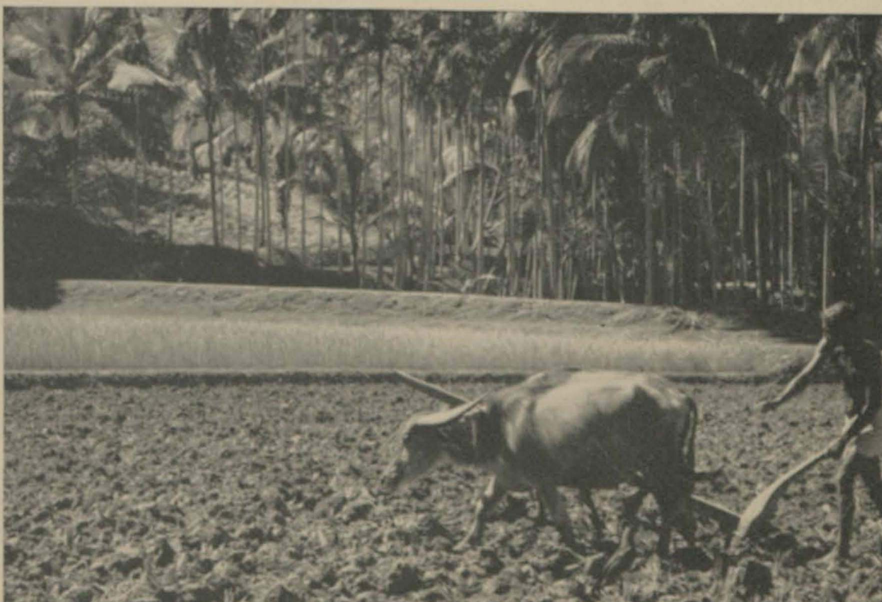
India is the world's largest producer of jute, a crop that requires little or no cultivation. The plants mature in 3 months and the crop is harvested with a bill hook and sickle when the flowers have begun to show, but before the seed appears.



The First Five-Year Plan brought 16 million arid acres under irrigation.



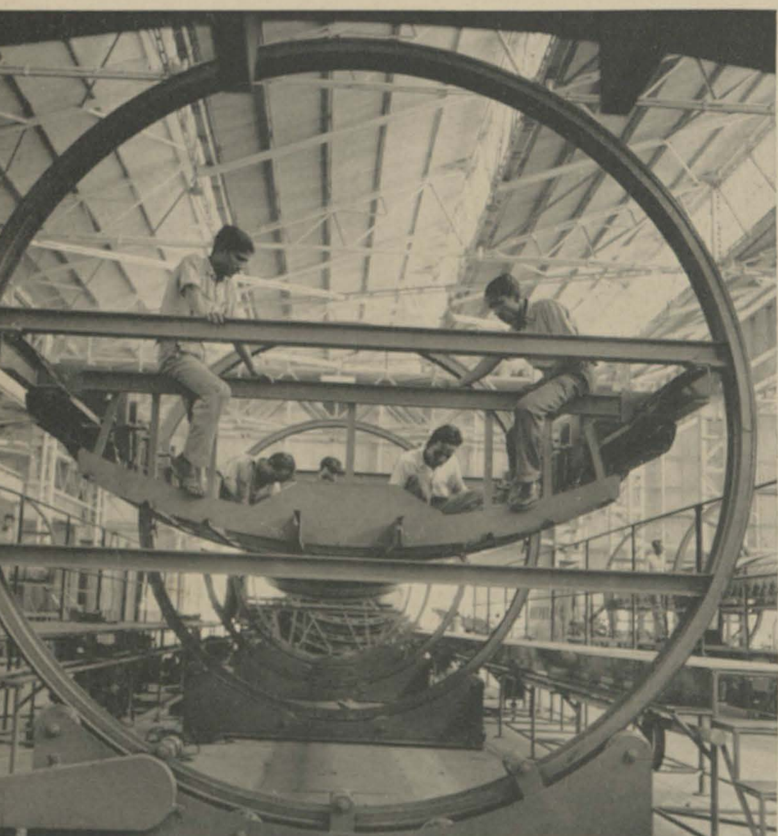
Nature has endowed India with everything for prosperity—vast stretches of land, minerals, water and man-power, and these resources are now being harnessed by modern methods.



Although India is progressing industrially, agriculture is still the mainstay of nearly three-fourths of the population, and accounts for half the national income.



INDUSTRIALIZATION IN INDIA



Rapid industrialization holds the key to the problems of unemployment, and technical help from industrially advanced countries is aiding development of India's industries.



The modern iron and steel industry came into existence in 1908. At the end of World War II, India ranked among the first eight industrial nations of the world.



The automobile industry in India has developed rapidly. Total value of automobile production this year is expected to reach over $210,000,000—double ten years ago.

INDIA is among the first ten industrial countries of the world, and except for a relatively brief period in her history, has always been an important center of industry and commerce. Hardly two centuries ago India was famous for the excellence and skill of her craftsmen. Her cotton and silk textiles were prized in Europe, and her paper, iron and glass products were in demand everywhere. When the Industrial Revolution in Europe struck a staggering blow at India's handicrafts, political subjection prevented adjustments to new industrial conditions. Early in the present century, however, India re-entered the field of industry with modern machinery and mass production methods. Within only a few decades her skill and enterprise created a sizable industry which, on the eve of the last war, had become the eighth most important in the world, and during the industrial expansion of the war years, India became an important source of supplies for the Middle and the Far East.

Very few people outside India realize the tremendous progress she has made in various industries, particularly in the engineering fields, during the last ten years. Prior to independence, India's industrialists devoted most of their time and energy to developing industries producing bulk consumer goods such as textiles, sugar, steel and cement. It was only after the achievement of independence that the government began a program designed to achieve a proper synthesis between heavy, medium and light industries, and to expand employment and save the foreign exchange.

The First Five-Year Plan was directed toward increasing the generation of electricity, building dams, and developing the railway transport. Due to the emphasis on these projects, progress in engineering industries was not spectacular, and was generally confined to the medium and lighter industries. This was quite natural, but it resulted in an increase in the level of India's annual imports of capital goods and machinery during this period, and forced the government to place greater emphasis on the development of engineering industries —particularly those heavy industries which produce capital goods.

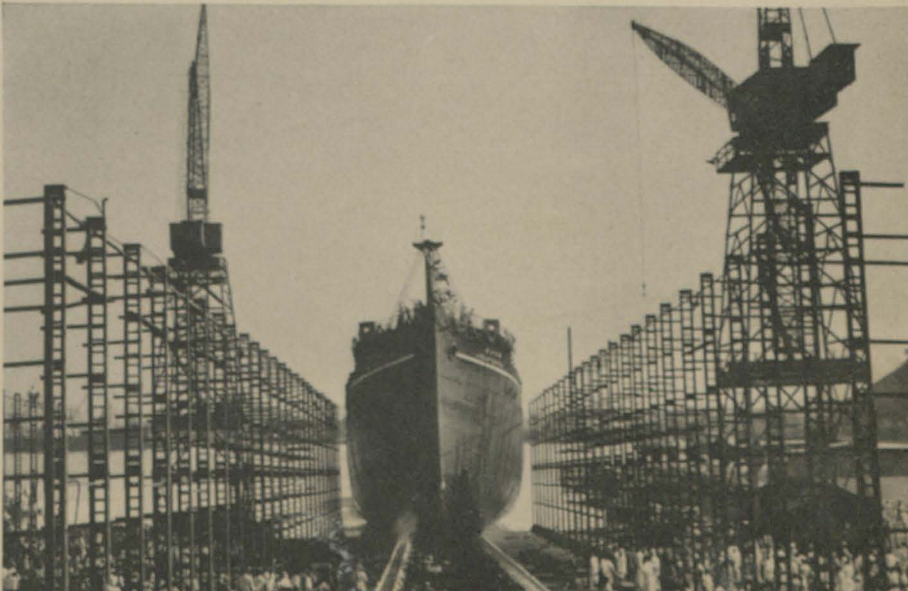
Industry has a bright future in India, for she is endowed with almost every raw material that an industrial country requires: coal, manganese, mica and bauxite, in addition to numerous other minerals; extensive forests; and hydro-electric resources which are estimated to be second only to those of the United States. These resources are now being harnessed by a variety of means. In the fulfillment of these tasks, scientific research provides an increasingly important contribution through a chain of national laboratories, where scientists are evolving completely new techniques, improving existing procedures and modernizing older processes.

Achievements during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan have been spectacular, and far exceeded the targets of the development councils which envisaged the creation of new industries under the auspices of the state, in addition to a program of active assistance to private industry, in order to significantly increase the production of capital goods. ♦



Achievements of engineering industries during the Second Five-Year Plan have been spectacular, far exceeding targets laid down by various development councils.

During World War II, India began to manufacture machinery, tools, diesel engines, and for the first time undertook the repair and building of aircraft and ships.





Over 1,000,000 students are enrolled today in India's universities, compared to 230,000 in 1947.

EDUCATING FOUR HUNDRED

Community adult education classes stress literacy, but also teach citizenship, health and hygiene.





MILLION MINDS

According to the Constitution of India, education is a state subject and the Central Government has very limited responsibilities, mainly confined to the sphere of higher education. In practice, however, the Union Government is increasingly concerned with all stages of education, and its role of planning, co-ordinating, collecting and disseminating information and organizing research projects and pilot activities, tends to grow in importance as a national pattern of education unfolds itself.

The need for a national system of education arose out of the ideology and aspirations of the nationalist movement which culminated with the winning of independence in 1947. Both the desire to revive the main strands of the ancient culture and civilization of India, and the attraction of introducing the liberal and scientific ideas and institutions of the West, contributed to the philosophy of education which influenced the development of a new educational system.

In the first place the new system of education must contribute to the achievement of certain fundamental objectives of the present-day society. These objectives are the consolidation of national unity, the economic reconstruction of the country in order to raise the common man's standard of living, and the establishment of a democratic pattern of society.

Secondly, the new pattern of education should make the people conscious of the cultural values of India, derived from the historic past as well as the living present. The dull and lifeless process of imparting knowledge of doubtful value in a wooden, mechanical fashion must give way to a new and dynamic system rooted in the best of old traditions and catering effectively to present-day needs.

Thirdly, there is an ever increasing emphasis on the utilitarian aspects of education, its relationship to vocational pursuits and employment, and on the implementation of the vast new program of economic development, especially the process of industrialization. The establishment of multi-purpose schools, the expansion of scientific and technical education, and the various reforms in the field of secondary education, are all geared to this end.

A number of schemes have been undertaken to guide the progress of basic education under the Five-Year Plan. In February, 1956, the National Institute of Basic Education was established at Delhi, in order to direct and co-ordinate activities relating to basic education throughout the country. The chief problem that faces the implementation of the schemes pertaining to basic education is the shortage of trained teachers, and to meet this problem, the government has started new Basic Teachers' Training Institutions.

In the field of secondary education, which was grossly neglected and narrowly confined in the past, India is making all possible efforts to break the old rigidities, to diversify the courses and to give secondary schools the character of multi-purpose schools. The aim is that secondary education should not merely be the intermediate means of reaching the portals of a university, but should be an end in itself.

The pattern of eight years of integrated elementary education of the basic type, followed by three years of higher secondary education, with diversified courses to give a vocational bias to the curriculum and thus make it both a terminal stage to enter life and a preparatory stage for higher studies, has been adopted. Language, social studies, general science and a craft form the core-curriculum in the new pattern of secondary education, and, in addition to this, the pupil may select one of diversified courses to be provided at multi-purpose schools—humanities, science, technical studies, commerce, agriculture, fine arts and home science.

The oldest universities in India—Calcutta, Bombay and Madras—are only a hundred years old. Today, India has thirty-eight universities compared to nineteen at the time of independence. These universities are of three types: affiliating universities, which do not undertake teaching but merely prescribe courses of study, conduct examinations and award degrees and diplomas for colleges affiliated with them; affiliating and teaching universities, which offer teaching and research facilities in addition to the other functions, generally at the post-graduate level and in some cases from the post-intermediate level onwards; and residential and teaching universities, which control all

colleges under their jurisdiction and undertake teaching at all levels. Several of the younger universities in India belong to the last category.

The most important landmark in the field of university education was the appointment of the University Education Commission, which produced a remarkable report on the functions of a university. It also recommended important reforms that are now being gradually introduced in the universities of India. The most important of these is the Three-Year Degree Course, a subject of live comment for more than half a century. About thirty universities have either already introduced this course or accepted it in principle.

Almost all of the thirty-eight universities in India have courses in art, science, medicine, law, agriculture, technology, engineering, commerce and teaching. The courses of study have developed considerably in the last decade and specialization has advanced rapidly. Facilities for research are provided in many fields by the universities, either directly in their own departments or in institutions recognized by them.

A university in India has to be established by an Act of the Central Parliament, or one of the State Legislatures. The universities enjoy a substantial degree of autonomy and teachers are associated with their work at all levels, and are almost completely free to decide all academic questions. In the first year of independence the university population of India was about 230,000, and it is estimated that the number today is about 1,000,000.

The majority of the population of India lives in backward rural areas and, therefore, any educational planning must necessarily take into account the needs of these millions in remote villages. The Government has, therefore, established ten Rural Institutes of Higher Education as pioneering institutions and is evolving a suitable pattern of education for the people in rural areas.

The problem of adult literacy in India has not escaped the attention of educational planners. In order to spread literacy among the adult population and to impart instruction in health and hygiene, a National Fundamental Educational Center was established in Delhi. This center has drawn up a program of training District Social Education Organizers who will be responsible for co-ordinating all social education activities in their areas. The education of women is no less important, and under the Second Five-Year Plan, increased facilities are provided for the expansion of the education of women, and especially for the training of women teachers.

The expansion of facilities for technical education to meet the needs of industry and developmental projects has been given the highest priority, and large financial resources made available for the establishment of new technical institutions and the expansion and upgrading of the existing ones. The higher institutes of technology, planned for various regions of the country, are in a process of rapid formation and the number of engineers has more than doubled since independence.

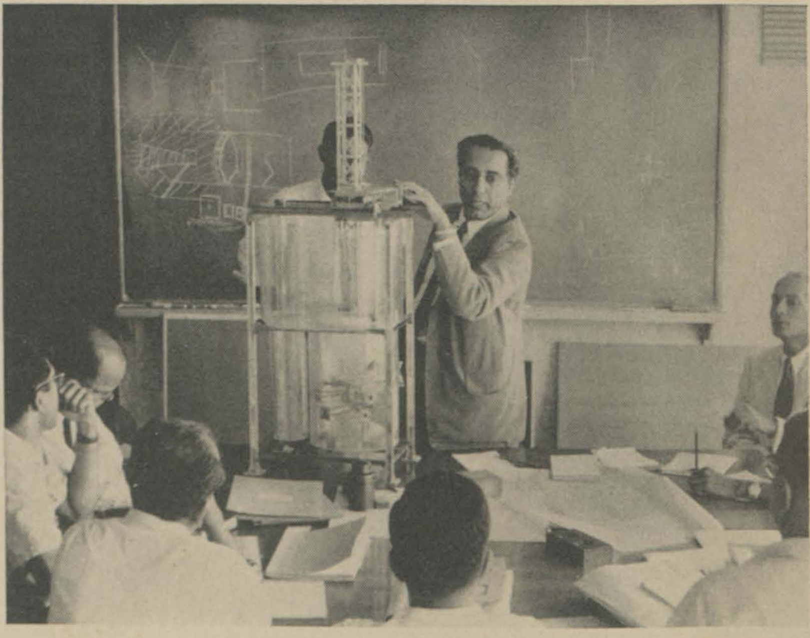
Progress in the field of technical education has been spectacular. The Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, the first of four higher technological institutes, started functioning in 1951. The Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay, admitted the first batch of students in 1958, and the remaining two institutes, one at Madras and another at Kanpur, are in the process of establishment. The Government of India proposes to set up a polytechnic institute in each district of the country. Out of about 320 districts of India, 200 polytechnic institutes have already been set up and the remaining institutes are expected to be established in the course of three of four years.

Perhaps no program is as significant and encouraging as the adult literacy campaign. A recent survey estimated that 40.7 per cent of the people of India can read and write, an increase of more than 100 per cent over the 1951 figure of 16.6 per cent. The survey also showed that education among women is progressing at an even faster rate than among men, and that there has been an almost four-fold increase in female literacy. This nation-wide increase in literacy is the result of an enormous effort by both government and voluntary organizations. The job is still less than half done, but its significance to the future of India is impossible to exaggerate. ♦



Although there is a steady rise in the number of school children between 6 and 14 years of age, about 50 out of every 100 starting school complete the 4 years of schooling regarded as minimum for securing lasting literacy.

Higher education is available in India to thousands whose parents lacked similar opportunities, creating intellectual differences within families and undermining the traditional, almost blind, respect of son for father.



The new Government's first need was to make schooling available to more young people, so education would no longer be the privilege of the few, and to rapidly increase the number of schools, especially elementary and secondary schools.



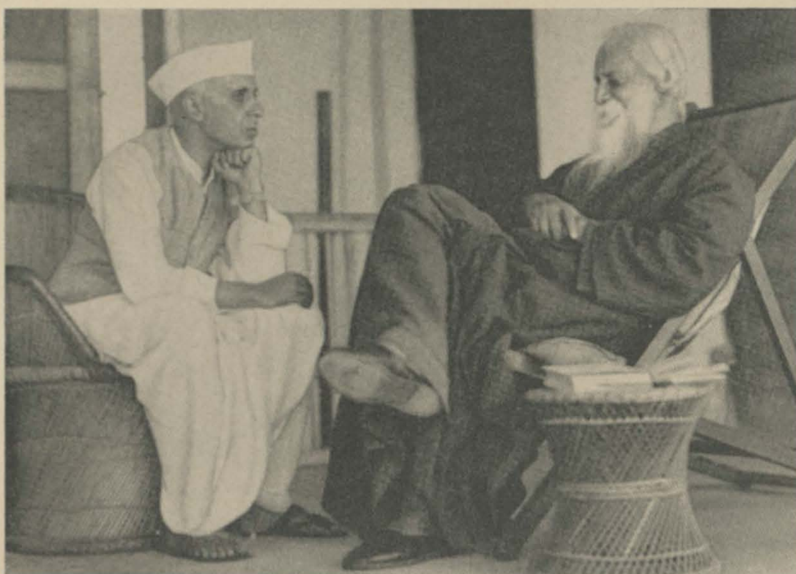


Today, public opinion in India is with the educated woman—the woman who throws off the yoke of custom in order to educate herself. Women have entered the medical profession in large numbers, qualifying as doctors, nurses, hospital aides.



Although the new constitution commits India to provide compulsory education for all children through age 14, only a third of all girls go to school, compared to two-thirds of all boys. Over 50 per cent of the people are still illiterate.

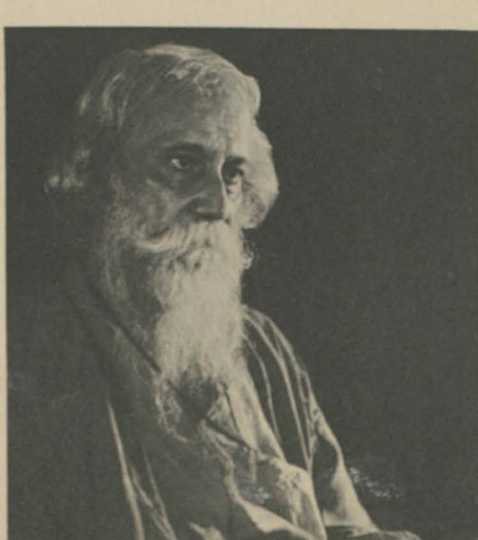
Nehru often sat at the feet of his teacher, India's great philosopher-poet Rabindranath Tagore, whose wisdom had a profound effect upon the Prime Minister's life.



THE LITERATURE OF INDIA

Jawaharlal Nehru has his undoubted right to the throne of young India. His is a majestic character. Unflinching is his patient determination and indomitable his courage, but what raises him far above his fellows is his unwavering adherence to moral integrity and intellectual honesty. He has kept unusually high the standard of purity in the midst of political turmoils, where deceptions of all kinds, including that of one's self, run rampant. He has never fought shy of truth when it was dangerous, nor made alliance with falsehood when it would be convenient. His brilliant intellect has ever turned away in outspoken disgust from the dishonorable path of policies, where success is as easy as it is mean. This lofty ideal of truth is Jawaharlal's greatest contribution in his fight for freedom.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE



INDIA has inherited a large, comprehensive literature, containing a preponderance of philosophy, logic and sophistry. There is an amazing wealth of imagery, metaphor, poetry, fable and morality; and a body of literature dealing with the sciences in ancient India—astronomy, mathematics, physiology, anatomy, medicine and surgery, where bald narrative is the exception and rhyming stanza and choice phraseology the rule. Then there are the *Silpa Shastras,* covering architecture, sculpture and painting; books dealing with prosody, music and dance; and lastly, pure literature—the dramas of Bhasa, Bhavabhuti, Kalidasa and others; the fables in *Panchatantra;* Revealed Scripture actually included under philosophy; the *Ithihasas* and *Puranas*—history, myth and legend.

With so rich a literary legacy it was natural for later generations to bask in it, adding to it commentary, glossary and elucidation. Every court, whether of emperor or princeling, had its quota of pundits, learned men, bards and scribes. If a king had to flee his kingdom he had his library moved to a safe place, and irrespective of invasion or internal wars the folk literature continued to flourish unabated.

India's literature would not be so rich but for the galaxy of her mystics and saint-poets. Every province of India, south, east, west, north, and every age, could boast of them. Punjab, the confluence of several streams of culture, gave rise in the fifteenth century to Suft mysticism and the Revealed Scriptures of the Sikhs, and influenced a number of folk ballads for which Punjab can justly claim the laurel wreath. At the other extreme, Assam's written literature goes back to the thirteenth century, though the ballads can be dated to an even earlier period.

The first productive literary phase lasted with varying degrees of vigor until about the sixteenth century. With the impact of the West, a sense of insecurity began to be felt and the atmosphere around the courts of the various rulers and potentates—until then the patrons of learning—gradually became less congenial for scholars, writers and poets.

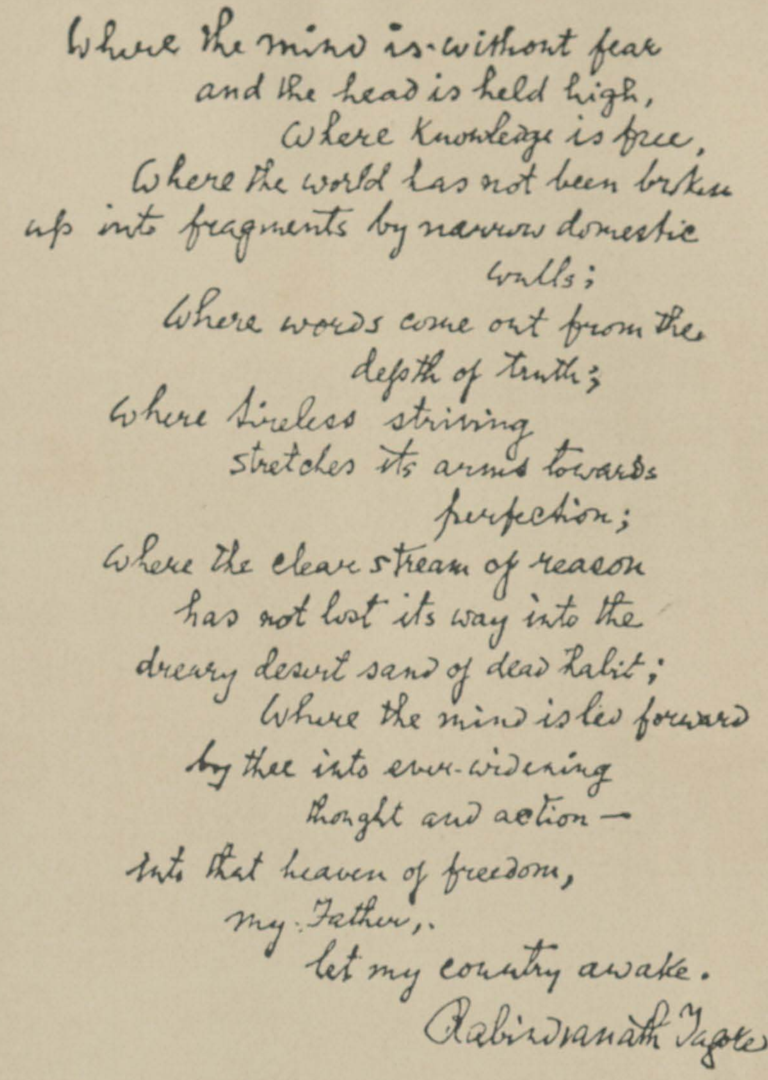
The more challenging aspects of Western culture were felt in India during the nineteenth century, and took the form of religious revivalism. Bengal had a taste of English education with the founding of the Fort William College by William Carey and Mrityunjoy Vidyalankar at the beginning of the century and the Hindu College in 1817. The Calcutta Book Society was likewise organized in 1817, and the Calcutta Bible Society began to translate the Bible into a number of the regional languages of India. In certain parts of India this was construed as a direct challenge, but in Bengal the bias was all in favor of everything Western. Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj Hindu sect, wanted India's institutions to be revived and modernized. The reforms he formulated were comprehensive, and by his writings—all Bengalis are agreed that his writings, irrespective of subject matter, were charged by a rare intellect and that he set the standard of modern Bengali prose—as well as by the force of his personality, he brought about a complete Bengali renaissance: social, religious, political and literary. The Hindu College was responsible for a progressive group known as "Young Bengal" which was more extremist than the Ram Mohun Roy followers, the literary among whom were known as the Tatvabodhini school.

As in Bengal, Gujarat on the west entered upon a social and cultural renaissance inspired by Europe, and it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the first fruits of modern Gujarati literature began to appear. From 1866 until 1914 Gujarat, vying with Bengal, was the scene of intense literary and dramatic activity, and the works of many European writers were translated into both Gujarati and Bengali during the last part of the nineteenth century.

In Punjab, with Delhi as its center, a similar renaissance was beginning to be felt. Delhi College, founded in 1825, was the rallying point for the propagation of "Western ideas and scientific values." The Aligarh Movement, founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, also had a worthy share in the reformist and literary revival in Punjab, chiefly in the field of Urdu literature. The romantic poetry of the great Urdu poets of the last century inspired Urdu prose, which still breathed an old-world air of Samarkand and the Arabian Nights, until Prem Chand,

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE


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Rabindranath Tagore

"Prisoner, tell me, who was it that bound you?" "It was my master," said the prisoner. "I thought I could outdo everybody in the world in wealth and power, and I amassed in my own treasure-house the money due to my king. When sleep overcame me I lay upon the bed that was for my lord, and on waking up I found I was a prisoner in my own treasure-house." "Prisoner, tell me, who was it that wrought this unbreakable chain?" "It was I," said the prisoner, "who forged this chain very carefully. I thought my invincible power would hold the world captive, leaving me in a freedom undisturbed. Thus night and day I worked at the chain with huge fires and cruel hard strokes. When at last the work was done and the links were complete and unbreakable, I found that it held me in its grip."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

under the influence of Chekov and Maupassant, created a contemporary school of prose. Through his short stories and novels, first in Urdu, later in Hindi, Prem Chand has achieved an outstanding place in the modern literacy revival of India.

There is one province of India which has from ancient times kept itself free from all outside influences while it extended its political and cultural boundaries. This is the ancient kingdom of Kalinga, whose Oriya literature is rich in story, myth and legend, epic and lyric, all enriched by Buddhism and Sun-worship, Krishna-worship and tribal gods.

The greatest name in the modern Oriya revival is Fakirmohan Senapati, who has been compared to Cervantes because of the breadth of his canvas. While the literary lions of Bengal had been fed on a special diet of English education, Fakirmohan was self-schooled and his English very inadequate. While Bengali writers were yet writing of a fast disintegrating feudal society, Fakirmohan went to the heart of his land and saw life, not raw, but in all its nuances.

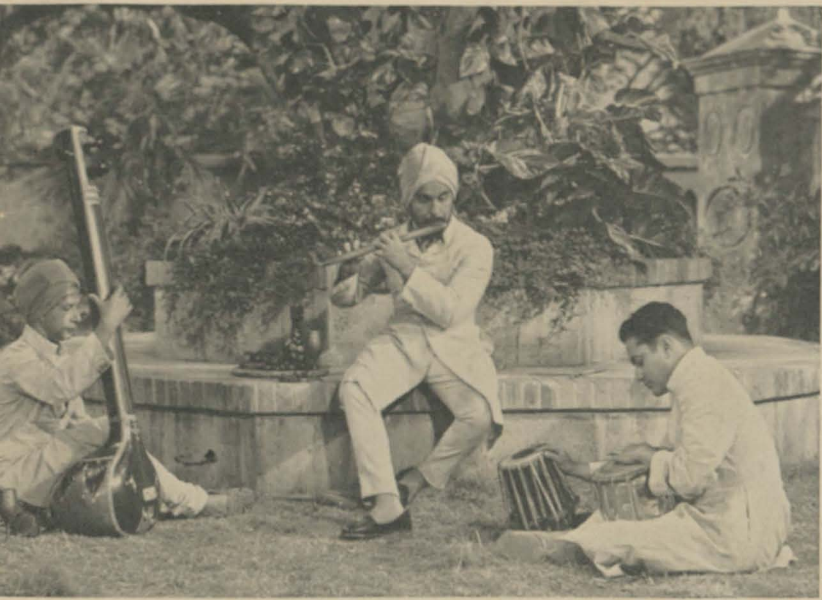
The work of missionaries like Kittel, the author of the Kannada-English Dictionary, and the printing presses they set up, combined with literary influence from Bengal, were responsible to no little degree for the impetus given to modern Kannada literature. It knit the Kannada people together, made them intensely aware of their common heritage, and culminated in the founding of a literary society in 1914.

The Syrian Christians of Malabar, guided by Saint Thomas, brought Western ideas to Kerala even before they were introduced to other sections of the country. Later literary influences were Roman, Portuguese and Dutch, and by the fourteenth century there was considerable Malayalam literature which included treatises on grammar. The writings of this period followed Sanskrit models, but early in the century a reaction against Sanskrit set in, bringing about a veritable harvest of literature: drama, poetry, essay, travelogue. These translated works keep the Malayali writer of today a very active person, with a tangible influence on political thought and social trends.

Inspired by Ram Mohun Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, the greatest name in the literature of India, went to the *Upanishads* and drew from the rich folk-lore of India for his writings, which won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1915.

In all Rabindranath Tagore's work three features are striking: the ultimateness of spiritual values to be obtained by inward honesty and cultivation of inner life; the futility of mere negation or renunciation and the need for a holy or a whole development of life; and the positive attitude of sympathy for all, even the lowly and the lost. It is a matter for satisfaction to find an Indian leader insisting on these real values of life and at a time when so many old things are crumbling away and a thousand new ones springing up.

When the lords and leaders of India pass into oblivion, Tagore will continue to enchant by his music and poetry; for the value of his work lies not in any tribal or national characteristics, but in those elements of universality which appeal to the whole world. He added to the sweetness of life and to the stature of civilization. To many an Indian in these changing times, Rabindranath Tagore's voice has been a comfort and a stimulus. When weighed down by the burden of defeated hopes and dazed at the conquests of science and organization, when minds lose their moorings and sense of direction, he comes to instill hope and courage into hearts and minds. He points out that though heads are bleeding, they are not bowed down, and that the value of success need not be judged by standards of wealth and power. The true tests of civilization are spiritual dignity and power of suffering. Wealth, power and efficiency are the appurtenances of life and not life itself. The significant things are the personal ones which are beyond the reach of science and organization. In his insistence on the supremacy of spiritual values as central to the good life and social order, Rabindranath Tagore was at one with the long tradition of Indian thinkers. In him was found the eternal voice of India, old and yet new. ♦



Instrumental music, although primarily meant for accompaniment, is a highly developed art in India. The classical musician improvises freely, although always in accordance with a very strict order of melody and meter.



Kathakali is a form of dance-drama noted for its archaic costumes, weird make-up and grand headgears.

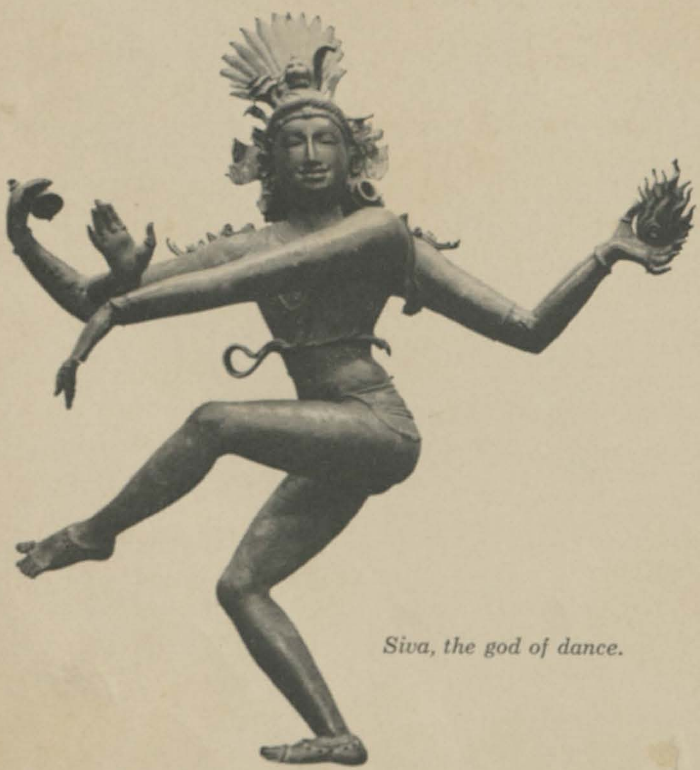


Folk dances of India are frequently related to various activities and functions of daily life and reflect their regions of origin. Thus the dances of the hill regions differ from both those of the plains and of the coastal areas.

MUSIC AND DANCE

Dancing in India usually has a narrative theme expressed by movements of the head, eyes, brows and hands. Dancing is an integral part of all festivals, public and private entertainments, and religious rituals.





Siva, the god of dance.



DANCING occupies a unique place among the arts. Combining many arts in one—action, song, melody, rhythm and harmony—it offers the most complete expression of the cultural life of a people. In India where aesthetic theory has held dance and music almost inseparable, they combine to form an integral part of living, having both a spiritual and a social significance.

Dancing did not at first exist as an independent art. It acquired meaning only as an element in man's relationship with God, and originally formed part of the Vedic ritual. It was always accompanied by the chanting of sacred hymns in rites solemnizing sacrifices, marriages and other sacred occasions. The classical music of India, which has been cultivated as a living art for nearly three thousand years, is still primarily a votive offering, and the realization of spiritual ends through the exercise of the senses is, generally speaking, the motive behind both of these arts.

The ancient music of India was handed down from the master to the disciple through the generations. In those days, the public concert was unknown and music was sung in the royal chamber, where the patron was content to hear the artist sing in response to an inner creative urge, or the song was heard in the sanctum of a temple as the musician offered his devotion to God.

Indian music is purely melodic. To appreciate it, the ear must be trained to receive pure intonation. Melody is a peculiar quality of the voice and, therefore, the greatest of Indian music is vocal music. The highest art is wholly extempore and the Indian musician is a creative artist. In fact, he is at once singer and poet. While the focus of interest is on singing, one should not, however, conclude that instrumental music does not exist in India or that it is not highly developed.

Few countries can rival India in variety, color and emotional richness of dance forms. Abounding in tribal, folk and classical dances of great antiquity and virtuosity, India has influenced the art of many neighboring countries and has been a veritable treasure-house of dance forms for untold centuries.

Indian classical dance, the result of a long period of evolution, was a highly developed art in India at least two thousand years ago, and both music and dance still show the persistence of traditional patterns much more than any of her other art forms.

All Hindu dramas were dance-dramas, and were danced and not merely acted. They were compositions in which lyrical and rhythmic elements predominated and there was little scope for realistic action. The aim was to stimulate the imagination of the spectators for aesthetic enjoyment through suggestion and, therefore, the technique of representation was given much study and attention.

Dance without drama has also existed since early times, generally performed by vestal virgins, in which the dancer used meaningful gestures, lyrical compositions and hymns. Thus, the dance proper of the vestal virgins and the dance-drama were the common foundation for all the subsequent developments.

Most of the prevailing systems of Indian classical dancing had their origin in the dances of the common people. The vastness of the country and the great variety of its peoples account for the local and regional variations or adaptations of the original common system in subsequent centuries. In the dances of India every gesture, every movement, has a meaning. The dancer can tell a wonderful story merely by the various movements of his body. Every dance contains a prayer. The dance may be dramatic or it may be humorous, but its movements tell the legends of the Hindu gods and heroes.

Though recent popular music has been influenced by Western musical trends, classical music has remained truly Indian and is finding a steadily widening following. The latest development in the modern period is the emergence of the Indian ballet, which has brought about a synthesis of the lyricism, grace and pictorial quality of Indian dance forms.

The cultural development of India has kept pace with progress in other spheres. Indian musicians are reviving the great traditions of ancient India, while Indian dancing has been popularized in both Europe and America by the talented artists who have helped greatly to interpret India's cultural heritage abroad. ◆

ART AND SCULPTURE OF INDIA







INDIA'S civilization is unique in its richness, vitality and antiquity. Mainly a product of the country's indigenous genius, it did not grow in isolation but absorbed ideas from Iran, Greece and Arabia without losing its own individuality. It spread beyond the borders of India to flourish in Thailand, Indo-China and Indonesia, and influenced the course of cultural development in Ceylon, Burma, China and parts of Central Asia. A great variety of monuments, sculptures, bronzes and paintings unfold the story of India's civilization through all its vicissitudes, and embody the thoughts and feelings that have inspired her people.

Sculpture has existed as an art in its own right in India from the beginning of history. Because of the prevalence of image worship, a good proportion of the sculpture has been religious in nature, but even from the earliest times secular sculpture is to be found.

The civilization of India dates from an unknown past, but the excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa have revealed the existence of a flourishing civilization as early at 3000 B.C., contemporaneous with the Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia. The exquisite jewelry, finished pottery, shapely toys and remains of well-appointed houses discovered among the ruins indicate that, even as early as five thousand years ago, the people of India had a highly advanced knowledge of architecture, were well versed in the art of town-planning and had a keen aesthetic sense.

Because of the very nature of the medium, examples of early painting are less profuse than those of architecture and sculpture, but there is a sufficient quantity to prove that the history of painting in India is the story of her ancient civilization in pictures.

The painting of India, like all Indian art, is social in its nature. Unlike the modern artist who improves techniques, sometimes merely to establish his singularity, the artist of the India of old was content to remain anonymous and to create within a given framework of codes and regulations. The means of self-expression accessible to the modern artist, such as choice of theme, color and technique, were denied to him. Ancient painting of India has to be looked upon as the mode of expression of a multitude of talented draftsmen, whose art acquired meaning and unity only in relation to a functional society where every calling was ordained.

Between Mohenjodaro and the art of the Mauryan period, adequately represented by Asoka's monoliths which were surmounted by sculptured animals—bulls, elephants, lions, horses—there exists a gap of two millenniums of which little is known. Under the influence of Buddhism, Mauryan art entered a phase of intense activity and several artistic centers sprang up. Realism, mastery over line, and precision in technique were the chief features of this art. Kings and commoners, animal and plant life, all carved with exquisite workmanship on the *stupas* of Sanchi, provide glimpses of the early life and religion of India. Subsequently the Mathura school developed peculiar features of its own distinguished by its preoccupation with the beautiful feminine figures of nymphs and dryads carved on pillars and supporting railings. These figures "stand in delicate poses and sportive attitudes with nimble waists and firm breasts, stealing the hearts of gods and man, as it were, with their teasing glances." The reliefs on the railings, which chronicled the times in lissome figures with a striking suggestion of movement, are said to be the finest examples of sheer sculptural beauty and technical skill in the pre-Gupta period.

With the decline of Buddhism the realistic and sensuous art of India became restrained. In this period, the Golden Age of art and sculpture in India, the sculpture is characterized by simplicity and refinement, and is very often inseparable from architecture. The most outstanding

creations of this era were the sculptured galleries and fresco paintings of Ajanta, and the contemplative and compassionate statues of the Buddha, his face set in tranquillity, the first sculpture of "the eternal Buddha dreaming his eternal dreams." While Ajantan art was predominately Buddhist in its inspiration, almost every segment of the life of India was graphically portrayed with a mastery of technical skill that has rarely been surpassed. During this period the principles which created the Buddhist masterpieces were likewise applied to Brahmanical themes, and, for the first time, Brahmanical sculpture produced a whole pantheon of gods—far more numerous than those of Buddhism.

The development of art continued and, during the period of Hindu cultural resurgence between the eighth and twelfth centuries A.D., there was another outburst of creative activity. The best specimens of the sculptured masterpieces of this era include the Hindu pantheon which is sculptured in relief on the walls of the caves at Ellora, the figure of the three-faced Siva in the aspects of Creator, Preserver and Destroyer, and the monolithic shrines which display some of the most robust sculptures.

By the beginning of the ninth century, the art of fresco painting had lost much of its verve, and miniature painting had come into vogue in the Pala school of Bengal. These artists employed simple compositions to illustrate the Buddhist scriptures on palm leaf manuscripts, and, similarly, the Gujarati school began to depict the Jain scriptures with miniature paintings.

In the medieval period, sculpture was used chiefly for the purpose of adorning pillars, friezes and brackets in temples, and gods and goddesses were carved with a number of heads to represent their multifarious aspects. The Pala art of eastern India has a rich variety of images in stone and metal, though the greatest profusion of metal images comes from the Chola period of Southern India, while the temples of Northern India are profusely carved with a variety of subjects, some dealing with erotic themes, all of which reveal a dramatic intensity.

In Southern India creative art found expression in bronze castings which are outstanding examples of grace and devotional power, and the temple sculptures, as well as the bronzes, reveal a close interrelationship between the sculptor's craft and the art of dance. The finest example of the art of bronze casting is the Nataraja which illustrates the creation of the world and its dissolution in the rhythm of the dance.

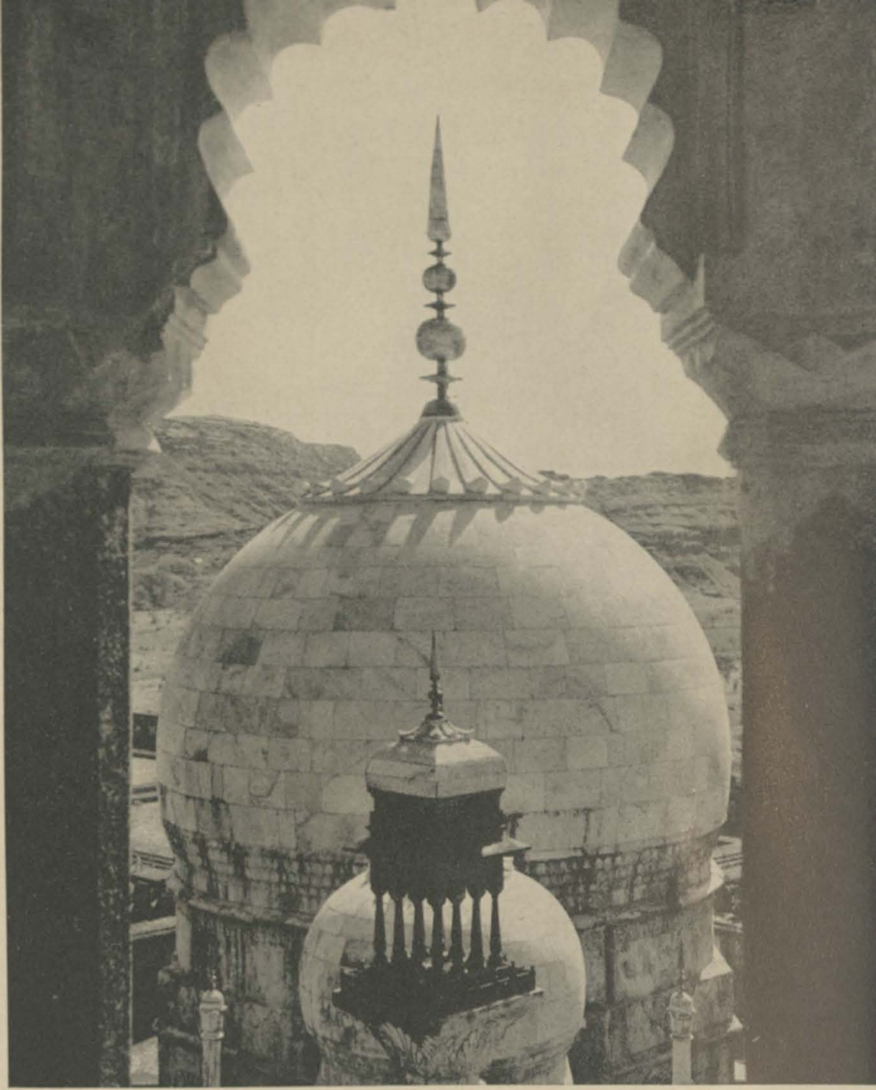
Since Islam forbids image worship or anthropomorphic representation, the period of Muslim rule was the great age of architecture rather than of sculpture. But the old sculptural art persisted in Hindu temples and homes, and traditional sculptors continued to practice the art of their forefathers with few innovations.

With Islam however, new traditions came to India from Iran and Central Asia, and during the Mughal period these influences were assimilated and a new school of art came into being, the best examples of which are the forts at Agra and Delhi, the Taj Mahal and numerous miniature paintings.

The Mughal school of painting, influenced by Persian traditions during the first half of the sixteenth century, was a school of secular art created for the amusement of the emperors and nobility. By the middle of this century, the medieval period in painting had come to a close and the Rajasthani miniatures made their appearance. These paintings, which share the characteristics of both secular and didactic art, combined religious fervor with lyricism and rhapsody.

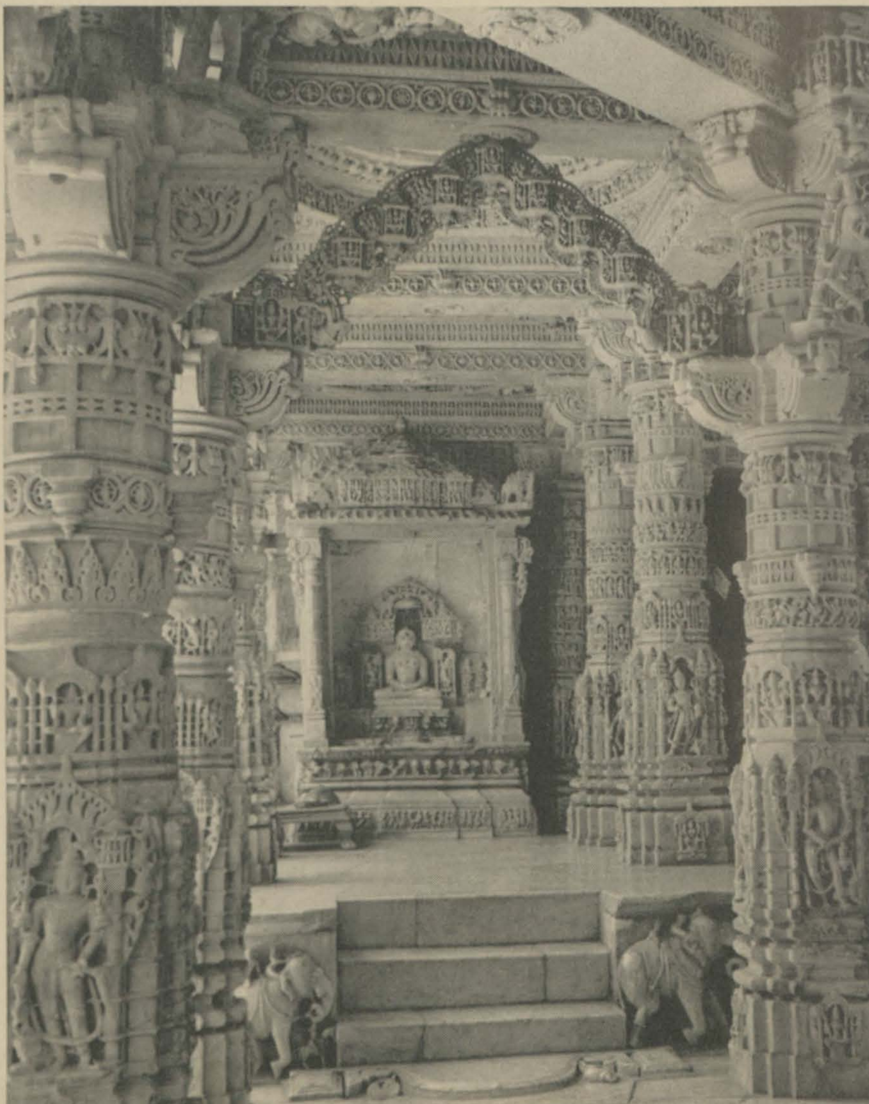
The art of the following era was more sophisticated and, for the first time, used symbolism to illustrate the moods of love. The inspiration that gave rise to Mughal and Rajasthani art had lost its vigor by the start of the twentieth century, and the impact of European culture developed artists who sought to borrow from techniques of the West.

Modern India is conscious of its great traditions, and modern sculpture, like painting, has experienced a revival. While the general trend is toward social awareness and the simplification of form, there are some sculptors who have been content to follow the rhythmic, decorative tradition of the Gupta period. Other artists have been considerably influenced by Western art and are endeavoring to evolve new and dynamic schools of art suited to modern needs. ♦



The Rabia Daurani or Bibi-Ka-Muqbara tomb in Aurangabad was built in 1678 on the model of the Taj Mahal, but is smaller, less majestic, less perfectly executed, and lacks the simplicity which is the charm of the original.

The Vimala Shhah is the oldest and the most beautiful of the Jain temples. Erected in 1031 and entirely constructed of white marble, it is not so much an architectural achievement as a remarkable example of tireless inventiveness in sculptured decoration.





Ganesha, son of Siva, is the god of wisdom. His image in the Hindu home brings his physical presence close to every member of the family. He is never relegated to Sunday thought, but every day, and at times of stress and strain or crises, the image is brought out, whatever the hour of the day or night, and all the household gather around to pray and ask for Divine guidance. God's kindliness, His wisdom, His patience and His humor are all embodied in Ganesha.

Bridhadeeswara Temple, the grandest of the temples in Tanjore, was built about 1000. Geometrically constructed, the shadow of the crown always falls inside the base. The octagonal dome must have been constructed of a single eighty-ton stone block brought into position by means of a six-mile ramp.

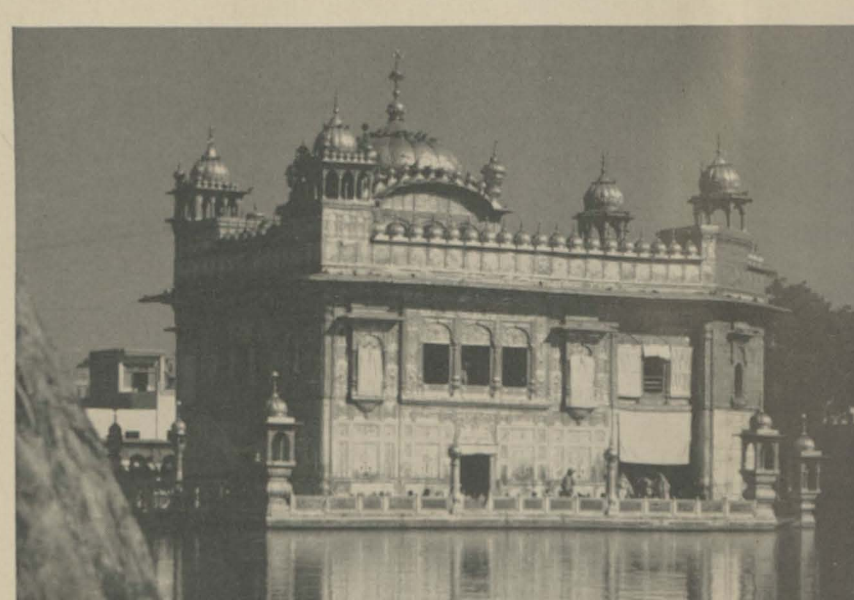


Mother and child sculptured in sandstone originated in Bhuvaneswar around 1100. The opulent female figure and a long nose distinguishes typical Orissan sculpture. This representation of motherhood, in its gentleness of gesture, is fit to take its place beside the most beautiful portrayals of motherhood in Western art.





Standing Buddha, dating from seventh or ninth century, is typical of the static type, as opposed to the dynamic style, of bronzes. Originating in Nalanda, it now stands in the National Museum in Delhi.



The Golden Temple, chief shrine of the Sikh religion, houses its sacred book, the "Granth Sahib." Located at Amritsar, it is surrounded by the sacred "pool of immortality" in which the Sikhs immerse themselves.



The Kandarya Mahadeva Temple dates from the beginning of the eleventh century and is the greatest of the Khajuraho temples. Between the balconies, the walls are decorated with three rows of figures, each figure executed with special care.



The ceiling of the Vimala Shhah Temple on Mount Abu is upheld by 8 carved columns. 16 brackets, bearing images of the goddess of knowledge, support the rings of the dome.



The bronze figure of Vishnu as Bhairava, holding Lakshmi on his knee, dates from the 17th century. Sanskrit treatises determine the sculptured forms, attributes and poses of each god represented.

TRAVEL IN INDIA

by William O. Douglas
Associate Justice, Supreme Court of the United States



Vast distances between India's major cities, combined with its favorable climate, give impetus to air travel. Nehru and his daughter, Indira, are frequent plane passengers.

India is so vast and so ancient that the tourist has to pick and choose. He can, of course, look at a cross section of something at once very old and very new. We are, in a sense, more interested in the new than in the old, but we ourselves are products of the old. The old is in us and around us, but our faces are turned toward building the new India.

— JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



TRAVEL in India is a unique adventure for one who has traveled only in America and Europe. Many of the comforts one is accustomed to are missing. But the antiquities, historical sites, scenery, pageantry, and color make up for any inconveniences one suffers, whether he goes by air, train, or car.

Bombay on the west coast of India, Madras in the south, Calcutta in the east, and New Delhi in the north central part are beautiful modern cities. Madras is perhaps the oldest of the four. It is the site of the ancient Dravidian civilization and has more color than any other part of India. Bombay, the great western port, is a busy financial and industrial center. Delhi, with its rose-colored sandstone buildings, is stately and dignified. It is steeped in legend and packed with visible records of past glories. Calcutta, at the mouth of the Ganges, is a busy port and the center of a vast agricultural area. This city, the first occupied by the British, is stately and comfortable. And nowhere else in India can one find a more vigorous intellectual climate.

But these four cities, magnificent as they are, do not represent India any more than Washington, D. C., New York, New Orleans and San Francisco represent America. To see the greatest historical sites—such as the monuments of the Taj Mahal, and the cities of Banaras, Sanchi, Madurai, Puri—one has to get off the beaten path. He must also do the same if he wants to see the new bright villages that are being constructed. And to see the Himalayas—India's most exhilarating sight—one has to leave most cities and villages behind him. There are comfortable ways of reaching many of these out-of-the-way places. Indian Airlines gives excellent service to many places, near and far, and Indian railways cover most of the country.

A few trains on the main runs between Delhi-Bombay-Calcutta-Madras are air-conditioned. For the most part, however, the main line trains are not air-conditioned; but they have diners. Even the branch lines have first-class facilities that are good. On the main lines one may hire a bedroll from the railroad. On branch lines, one provides his own bedroll; and there is no diner. But the station stops are numerous and the food vendors are usually present. The cooked food one finds on station platforms is plentiful and good, though not of great variety.

Travel by train is perhaps the most interesting journey one can take in India. About one out of four people at the stations speaks English. Here, too, one sees the mixed peoples and castes of India—Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, priests, merchants, peddlers, farmers, doctors, students, Brahmins, and professors. And in the background is the ever present Indian countryside—fertile fields, water buffalo, wooden plows, and pumpkin vines trailing yellow blooms along mud walls and thatched roofs.

Travel by car is another choice way of seeing India. Road maps are not too reliable; but travel is safe. One takes his bedroll along, for there are few hotels in the western sense, once the large cities are left behind. There are instead dak bungalows which are government-owned and run by local officials. They are frequently inspected and quite clean and comfortable. One does not usually roar along Indian highways at fast speeds, but motors leisurely and stops often for pictures and conversation with villagers and farmers. With an adventurous spirit and a flexible schedule, an auto trip across India puts one close to the people. Here is a sure way of finding the warm heart and bright conscience of this great nation.

One can fly to some of the great recreational centers in the Himalayas such as Kashmir, Khatmandu, and Darjeeling. A train also goes to the latter. But the car gives access to the Himalayas at a wider variety of points. Darjeeling, Gangtok and Kalimpong in the east; Ranikhet, Almora, Kosani, Mussoorie, Dalhousie, and Simla in the north central; and Manali and Srinagar in the west are all resorts where one finds clean, comfortable hotels serving excellent food.

Srinagar has houseboats to rent on the Jhelum River and Dal Lake. One can also rent camp equipment there and hike up one of the valleys for camping. Darjeeling has a fine Sherpa colony. The great Tenzing lives there. One can be outfitted at Darjeeling for an alpine expedition or a Himalayan trek. He can find guides there for a day, a week, or a month. He can find trails that lead as high as he cares to go. What is true in the great hill stations of Darjeeling and Srinagar is also true, though on a smaller scale, in the lesser hill stations.

October through March are the best months for general travel in India. For the Himalayas, April, May, and June are the best. Then the flowers are out, the shrubs are in bloom and bright skies with fleecy clouds are overhead. There is no more exhilarating way to travel there than muleback or on foot. Icy peaks rise in the supernal, high above any mountains we know, nearly twice as high as our highest, nearly two miles higher than the Alps. One leaves the pine, spruce, and fir to reach chestnuts and oaks. Beyond them one comes to the birch and the willow. Beyond these are high green basins where a myriad of wildflowers grow.

One who goes to India comes to love her people. On her baking plains one finds a poverty that is haunting, dignified, and proud. In her icy peaks he finds a beauty that is startling. Everywhere he finds a great tide of progress moving against superstition, illiteracy and disease, against prejudices born of the outlawed caste system. On all hands one sees an awakening of a people and a peaceful mobilization of their energies for the remaking of an ancient land. One leaves India with a sense of humility for her great culture, a deep compassion for her struggling villagers, a high respect for her great minds. ♦



The "Gateway to India," erected to commemorate the landing of King George V and Queen Mary in Bombay in December, 1907, welcomes travelers and emphasizes Bombay's position as the sea gateway to India.

A distinctive architectural feature of the ancient temples of South India is their stately, majestic "gopurums"—intricately carved, multiple-storied gateways.





Tourists do not want to leave India without visiting the Taj Mahal at Agra, one of the world's most famous architectural achievements. 20,000 men worked daily for 22 years to complete this delicate structure of white marble inlaid with colored stones, which has been described as a "poem in marble."



A view of the Ashoka Hotel in New Delhi where broad avenues, spacious parks, and imposing buildings connect the great monuments of the past with the impressive edifices of the present.



Parliament House reflects the synthetic influence which predominates in the architecture of New Delhi, in which Hindu, Buddhist, Saracenic and European motifs and styles blend harmoniously to make the capital city worthy of a great country.

Bombay, Gateway of India, and the principal city of the western region, provides the first glimpse of the country to tourists. A small fishing village some 400 years ago, it has grown into a beautiful harbor studded with hilly islands and a palm-fringed shore.



When I think of India, I think of many things; of broad fields dotted with innumerable small villages; of towns and cities I have visited; of the magic of the rainy season which pours life into the dry, parched land and converts it suddenly into a glistening expanse of beauty and greenery; of great rivers and flowing water; of people, individually and in the mass; and, above all, of the Himalayas, snow-capped, or some mountain valley in Kashmir in the spring, covered with new flowers, and with a brook bubbling and gurgling through it. We make and preserve the pictures of our choice. — JAWAHARLAL NEHRU





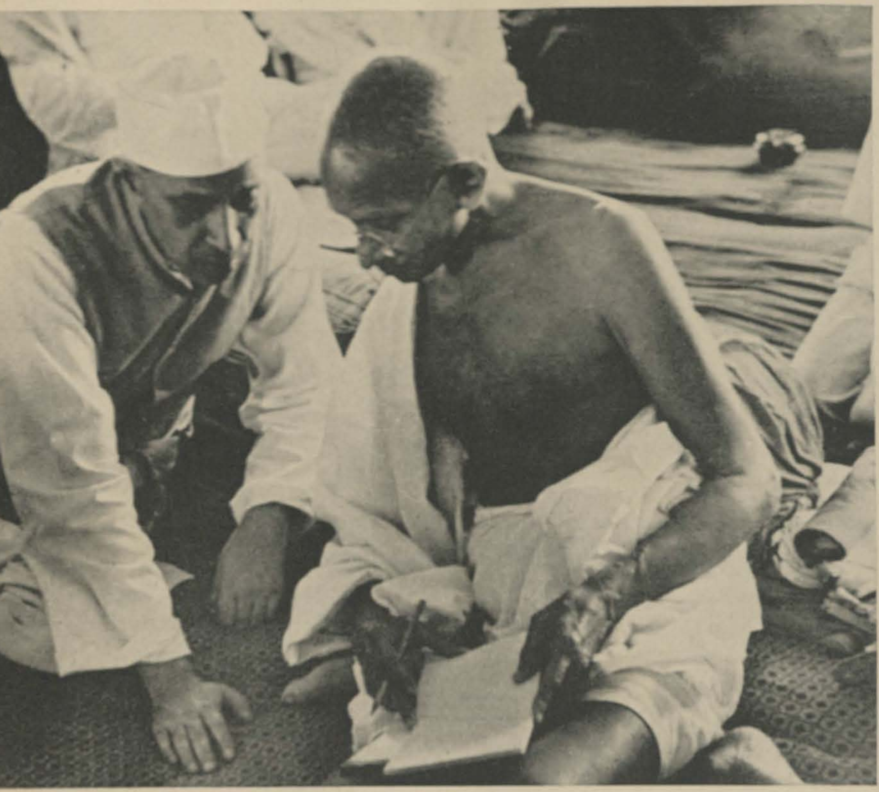
The Rashtrapati Bhawan in New Delhi, the Indian President's palace, is illuminated on Republic Day, January 26. The 50 mile area south of the city contains many historic ruins—forts, tombs, mosques and temples dating from ancient empires.



Religious tourism in India is very old, while secular tourism has matured in less than 10 years. The Golden Temple at Amritsar attracts both.

Besides historical monuments, palaces and temples, crowded bazaars and exotic merchandise, India offers the visitor everything from the pomp and pageantry of dances, parades and festivals to beautiful scenery, a variety of sports, and wild game sanctuaries.





And then Gandhi came. He was like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breaths; like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scales from our eyes; like a whirlwind that upset many things, but, most of all, the working of people's minds. He did not descend from the top; he seemed to emerge from the millions of India, speaking their language and incessantly drawing attention to them and their appalling condition. Get off the backs of these peasants and workers, he told us, all you who live by their exploitation; get rid of the system that produces this poverty and misery. Political freedom took new shape then and acquired a new content. Much that he said we only partially accepted or sometimes did not accept at all. But all this was secondary. The essence of his teaching was fearlessness and truth, and action allied to these, always keeping the welfare of the masses in view. The greatest gift for an individual or a nation, so we had been told in our ancient books, was fearlessness, not merely bodily courage but the absence of fear from the mind. Janaka and Yajnavalkya had said, at the dawn of our history, that it was the function of the leaders of people to make them fearless. But the dominant impulse in India under British rule was that of fear—pervasive, oppressing, strangling fear; fear of the army, the police, the widespread secret service; fear of the official class; fear of laws meant to suppress and of prison; fear of the landlord's agent; fear of the moneylender; fear of unemployment and starvation, which were always on the threshold. It was against this all-pervading fear that Gandhi's quiet and determined voice was raised: Be not afraid.

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

GANDHI India's Modern Saint

by Jawaharlal Nehru

Gandhi was 13 in 1882 when he married Kasturbai, who bore him 4 children. Although they lived happily for 60 years, Gandhi wrote, "I see no moral argument in support of such a preposterously early marriage."



MAHATMA GANDHI was perhaps the greatest symbol of the India of the past, and of the India of the future, that we could have had. Great as this man of God was in his life, he has been greater in his death. There are certain rare qualities which raise a man above the common herd and make him appear as though he were of different clay. The long story of humanity can be considered from many points of view; it is a story of the advance and growth of man and the spirit of man; it is also a story full of agony and tragedy. It is a story of masses of men and women in ferment and in movement, and it is also the story of great and outstanding personalities who have given content and shape to that movement of masses. In that story Gandhi occupies a pre-eminent place. Those who came in intimate contact with him were influenced by that dominating and very lovable personality. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot have a full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility.

Years have gone by since Gandhi passed away. The manner of his death was the culmination and perfect climax to an astonishing career. Even during his lifetime, innumerable stories and legends had grown around him and now he seems almost a legendary figure, one in the great line of India's sages and heroes and wise men. The legend will grow and take many shapes, sometimes with little truth in it. Succeeding generations will remember him and pay honor to him. As is India's way, we have added him to our pantheon and celebrate the day of his birth and the day of his passing away.

Gandhi brought freedom to India. He told us to shed fear and hatred; he told us of unity and equality and brotherhood, of raising those who had been suppressed, of the dignity of labor and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated again and again that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: What is truth?

Few of us dare to answer it with any assurance; it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds or our capacity for intuition may be, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth as he sees it. Will he act up to it, regardless of consequences and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he, even in search of the right goal, compromise with the means of attaining it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question rather rhetorically, as if there were only one answer. But life is exceedingly complicated and the choice it offers is never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual leading an isolated life may endeavor with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstances have put him in a position where he molds and directs others, what is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal and compromised with truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in the fullest sense, to his ideals and to his conception of truth; yet, he succeeded in molding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things, he was inflexible and firm as a rock. For him, there was no compromise with what he considered evil. He molded a whole generation and more, and raised them above themselves. That was a tremendous achievement.

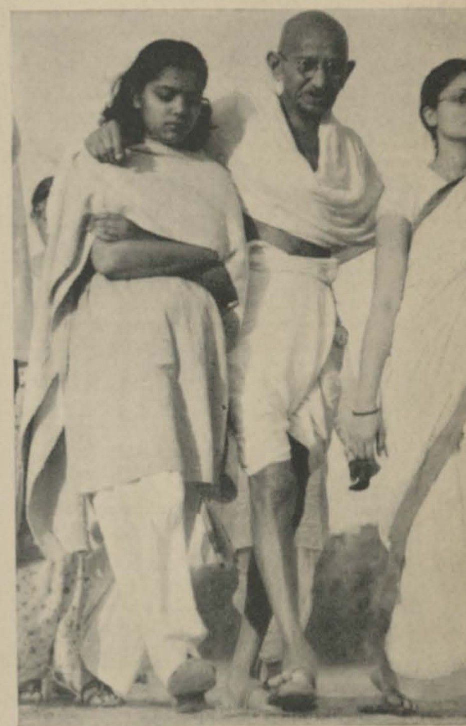
Our country gave birth to a mighty soul and he shone like a beacon, not only for India, but for the whole world. And yet he was done to death by one of our own brothers and compatriots. How did this happen? You might think that it was an act of madness, but that does not explain this tragedy. It could only occur because the seed for it was sown in the poison of hatred and enmity that spread throughout the country and affected so many of our people. Out of that seed grew this poisonous plant. It is the duty of all of us to fight this poison of hatred and ill will. If we have learned anything from Gandhi, it is that we must bear no ill will or enmity toward any person. The individual is not our enemy. It is the poison within him that we fight and to which we must put an end.

Gandhi used to observe silence for one day in every week. Even though that voice is silenced forever, it resounds in our ears and in our hearts, and it will resound in the minds and hearts of our people, and even beyond the borders of India, in the long ages to come. For that voice is the voice of truth, and though truth may occasionally be suppressed it can never be put down. Violence for him was the opposite of truth and he therefore preached to us against violence, not only of the hand but of the mind and heart. If we do not give up this internecine violence and have the utmost forbearance and friendliness for others, we are doomed. The path of violence is perilous and freedom seldom exists for long where there is violence. The people's freedom is meaningless if we have internal violence and conflict.

We used to run to Gandhi for advice and guidance whenever we were confronted with any great problem, or when we felt ill at ease or in



Gandhi coined a special word, "Satyagraha," meaning soul force or truth force, to show that the man who renounces violent weapons, even violent speech and thought, is still a fighter.



After daily prayers at dawn, Gandhi often took long walks with his granddaughter, Sita, and his grandniece, Abbha. Gandhi fought injustice with the weapons of truth and love.

Hundreds of millions of mourners lined the streets of Delhi for a last loving look at the Father of India, as the frail body of Gandhi, "The Great Soul," was borne to the funeral pyre on the banks of the sacred Jumna.



doubt. Thousands, and hundreds of thousands, considered him their intimate friend and counselor. All of us felt that we were his children. He was rightly called the Father of the Nation. We think with pride of the high and unique privilege that was ours to have had for our chief and leader and friend this mighty person, who carried us to great heights on the way to freedom and truth. And the way of struggle that he taught us was also the way of truth.

He thought of India in terms of the poor and the oppressed and the downtrodden. To raise them and free them was the mission of his life. He adopted their ways of life and dress so that no one in the country might feel lowly. Victory to him was the growth of freedom of these people.

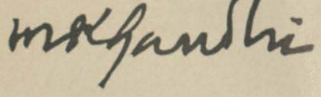
What kind of triumph did Gandhi wish for us? Not the triumph for which most people and countries strive through violence, fraud, treachery and evil means. That kind of victory is not stable. For the foundations of a lasting victory can only be laid on the rock of truth. Gandhi gave us a new method of struggle and political warfare and a new kind of diplomacy. He demonstrated the efficacy of truth and good will and non-violence in politics. He taught us to respect and co-operate with every Indian as a man and as a fellow-citizen, irrespective of his political belief or religious creed.

Gandhi was a Hindu and an Indian, the greatest in many generations, and he was proud of being a Hindu and an Indian. To him India was dear because she had represented throughout the ages certain immutable truths. But though he was intensely religious and came to be called the Father of the Nation which he had liberated, yet no narrow religious or national bonds confined his spirit. And so he became the great internationalist believing in the essential unity of man, the underlying unity of all religions, and the needs of humanity, and more specially devoting himself to the service of the poor, the distressed and the oppressed millions everywhere. His death brought more tributes than have been paid at the passing of any other human being in history.

He was the great unifier in India, who taught us not only a bare tolerance of others but of a willing acceptance of them as our friends and comrades in common undertakings. He taught us to rise above our little selves and prejudices and to see the good in others. We must keep the pledge, which we gave to Gandhi, to remember that India is a common home to all those who live here, to whatever religion they may belong. They are equal sharers in our great inheritance and they have equal rights and obligations. Ours is a composite nation, as all great nations must necessarily be. Any narrowness in outlook, any attempt to confine the bounds of this great nation, will be a betrayal of Gandhi's final lesson to us and will surely lead to disaster and to the loss of that freedom for which he labored and which, in a large measure, he gained.

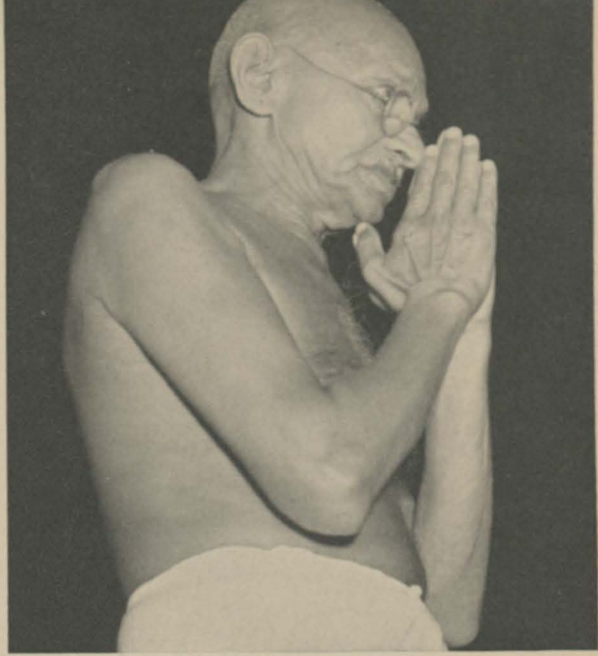
Equally important is the service of the common man in India who has suffered so much in the past. His claims must be paramount and everything that comes in the way of his betterment must have second place. Not merely from moral and humanitarian grounds, but also from the point of view of political common sense, has it become essential to raise the standard of the common man and to give him full opportunity of progress. A social structure which denies him this opportunity stands self-condemned and must be changed.

To what was Gandhi's great power over the mind and heart of man due? Ages to come will judge. We are too near him to assess the many facets of his extraordinarily rich personality, but even we realize that his dominating passion was truth. That truth led him to proclaim without ceasing that good ends can never be attained by evil methods, that the end itself is distorted if the method pursued is bad. That truth led him to confess publicly whenever he thought he had made a mistake—he called some of his own mistakes Himalayan errors. That truth led him to fight evil and untruth wherever he found them regardless of the consequences. That truth made the service of the poor and the dispossessed the passion of his life, for where there is inequality and discrimination and suppression, there is injustice and evil and untruth. And thus Gandhi became the beloved of all those who have suffered from social and political evils, and the great representative of humanity as it should be. Because of that truth in him, wherever he sat became a temple and where he trod was hallowed ground. ♦





Gandhi measured life not according to material possessions, but spiritual attainments. He believed that through accumulation of spiritual treasures man could ultimately find true happiness in the modern world. Among the few possessions he left to the world were his spectacles, a watch, a book of songs, a letter opener, and the figurine of 3 monkeys which symbolize the injunctions to speak no evil, see no evil, hear no evil.



from the Wisdom of GANDHI

Begin your day with prayer, and make it so soulful that it may remain with you until the evening. Close the day with prayer so that you may have a peaceful night free from dreams and nightmares. Do not worry about the form of prayer. Let it be any form, it should be such as can put us into communion with the Divine. Only, whatever be the form, let not the spirit wander while the words of prayer run on out of your mouth.

All the great religions are fundamentally equal. We must have innate respect for other religions as we have for our own. Mind you, not mutual toleration, but equal respect.

Before the Throne of the Almighty we shall be judged, not by what we have eaten nor by whom we have been touched, but by whom we have served and how. Inasmuch as we serve a single human being in distress, we shall find favor in the sight of God.

To a good man, the whole world is good.

There is no place on earth and no race which is not capable of producing the finest types of humanity, given suitable opportunities and education.

For me the different religions are beautiful flowers from the same garden, or they are branches of the same majestic tree. Therefore they are equally true, though being received and interpreted through human instruments equally imperfect.

All business depends upon men fulfilling their promises.

The language of the lips is easily taught; but who can teach the language of the heart?

I have had my share of disappointments, uttermost darkness, counsels of despair, counsels of caution, subtlest assaults of pride, but I am able to say that my faith—and I know that it is still little enough, by no means as great as I want it to be—has ultimately conquered every one of these difficulties.

I consider myself a Hindu, Christian, Moslem, Jew, Buddhist and Confucian.

Civilization is the encouragement of differences. Civilization thus becomes a synonym of democracy. Force, violence, pressure, or compulsion with a view to conformity is therefore both uncivilized and undemocratic.

Prayer is not asking. It is a longing of the soul. It is daily admission of one's weakness. It is better in prayer to have a heart without words than words without a heart.

God is no dictator. He leaves us the freedom to master ourselves.

Let us engrave on our hearts the motto of a Western philosopher, "Plain living and high thinking." Today it is certain that the millions cannot have high living and we the few who profess to do the thinking for the masses run the risk, in a vain search after high living, of missing high thinking.

God makes no distinction between His worshippers.

We are born to serve our fellowmen, and we cannot properly do so unless we are wide-awake. There is an eternal struggle raging in man's breast between the powers of darkness and of light, and he who has not the sheet-anchor of prayer to rely upon will be a victim to the powers of darkness. The man of prayer will be at peace with himself and with the whole world; the man who goes about the affairs of the world without a prayerful heart will be miserable and will make the world also miserable.

Peace between countries must rest on the solid foundation of love between individuals. Love gives men a partnership in the cares and needs of others. Hate and competition then yield to co-operation.

Hinduism tells every one to worship God according to his own faith, and so it lives at peace with all the religions.

Man's aim in life is not to add from day to day to his material prospects and to his material possessions, but his predominant calling is from day to day to come nearer his own Maker.

Let us learn to treasure only the good and reject the evil in everything.

I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible, but I refuse to be blown off my feet by any of them. Mine is not a religion of the prison house. It has room for the least among God's creations but it is proof against insolent pride of race, religion and color.

There is only one omnipotent and omnipresent God. He is named variously and we remember Him by the name which is most familiar to us.

I have never been able to reconcile myself to untouchability. I have always regarded it as an excrescence. It is true that it has been handed down to us from generations, but so are many evil practices even to this day.

Knowledge cannot be the prerogative of any class or section.

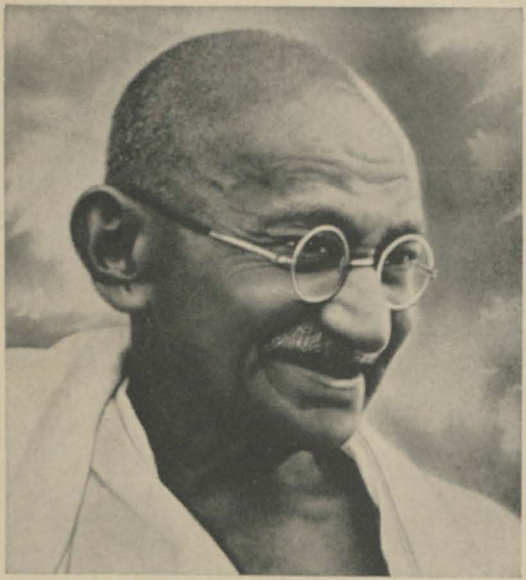
Speak the truth and remain non-violent at any cost.

I should be content to be torn to pieces rather than disown the suppressed classes.

I am not against wealth. I am against the wealth that enslaves.

There is more to life than increasing its speed.

from the Wisdom of GANDHI



In my opinion there is no such thing as inherited or acquired superiority. I believe implicitly that all men are born equal. All—whether born in India or in England or America or in any circumstances whatsoever—have the same soul as any other.

The outward behavior of a man is at once the sign and proof of the inner state.

The real property that a parent can transmit to all equally is his or her character and educational facilities. Parents should seek to make their sons and daughters self-reliant, well able to earn an honest livelihood by the sweat of their brow.

My religion is a matter solely between my Maker and myself.

What are we in this mighty universe? We are less than atoms, and as between atoms there is no use asking which is smaller and which is bigger. Inherently we are equal. The differences of race and skin, of mind and body, and of climate and nation are transistory. In the same way, essentially, all religions are equal.

Have clean companions—clean friends and clean books.

Prejudices and superstitions die hard. They cloud the reason, befog the intellect and harden the heart.

When a person claims to be non-violent, he is expected not to be angry with one who has injured him. He will not wish him harm; he will wish him well; he will not swear at him; he will not cause him any physical hurt. He will put up with all the injury to which he is subjected by the wrong-doer. Thus non-violence is complete innocence. Complete non-violence is complete absence of ill-will against all that lives.

God is the greatest democrat the world knows, for He leaves us unfettered to make our own choice between evil and good.

The ideal is never fully realized in life.

The world will live in peace only when the individuals composing it make up their minds to do so. No one can deny the possibility nor say when that will come to pass.

Self-indulgence and hypocrisy are sins to be avoided.

There is no such thing as "Gandhism," and I do not want to leave any sect after me. I do not claim to have originated any new principle or doctrine. I have simply tried in my own way to apply the eternal truths to our daily life and problems.

I have no hesitation to call a spade a spade.

Non-possession is a principle applicable to thoughts, as well as to things. A man who fills his brain with useless knowledge violates that inestimable principle. Thoughts, which turn us away from God, or do not turn us toward Him, constitute impediments in our way.

A merely intellectual conception of the things of life is not enough. It is the spiritual conception which eludes the intellect, and which alone can give one satisfaction.

The opinions I have formed and the conclusions I have arrived at are not final. I may change them tomorrow. I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills. All I have done is to try experiments in both on as vast a scale as I could do. In doing so I have sometimes erred and learned by my errors.





NEHRU

LIBERATOR OF INDIA

He is as pure as crystal; truthful beyond suspicion; a brave and noble knight. The nation is safe in his hands.
—GANDHI

by S. Radhakrishnan
Vice-President of India

THERE is a theory that history is made and nations are shaped by deep currents, economic or other, which drive them inexorably into predestined channels. Even outstanding human individuals, whatever they may appear to do, are tossed about in the currents and do not alter anything very much. This view is not altogether correct. There are historical forces beyond the control of men which sway the future course of life, but the quality of great men is not altogether irrelevant to a nation's destiny. Whether it is Caesar or Napoleon, Lenin or Gandhi, they do affect their country and its fortunes. Jawaharlal Nehru is a person of exceptional quality who has had an enduring impact on India's recent history.

If we wish to judge revolutionary heroes we must watch them at close range and judge them at great distance. When we watch Nehru at close range, we feel that we are in the presence of a man of extraordinary gifts, of talents that amount to genius, who has given himself to the service of his fellow men. He could kindle in a whole nation the fire that burned within him and interpret its spirit to itself. Posterity will look upon him as one of the great liberators of humanity.

The greatest title ever offered to human effort is that of liberator. Nehru took a leading part in the struggle for freedom and worked for the great opportunity which he now has of liberating the minds and hearts of the people of India from enslavement, from superstition, from outworn ideas, and leading them to their destiny. What made us slaves for centuries was not the strength of the invader, but our own disunion. Consolidation of the country is the task that is set to our generation. Nehru is addressing himself to this great task with all his faith and valor.

Nehru is essentially a democrat. In his way of thinking, there is no place for intolerance, racial or social condescension or national aggressiveness. Even when he acquiesces in policies that are not quite consistent with the spirit of democracy, he does so with the utmost reluctance. In an infant democracy like ours, he is anxious that we should not set up wrong precedents. He is incapable of ruthless action and some may think that no government can govern unless it is hard on evildoers, the perpetrators of sharp practices and corrupt dealings. But one need not be ruthless to be vigilant about incompetence, graft, corruption and nepotism.

There is some truth in the general impression that Nehru is aloof, that he does not give himself away in conversation, that he is generally reticent and withdrawn with individuals though he is very happy with people. Nehru is readily accessible and is always open to argument, but there are very few who argue with him. That is his misfortune. He is loyal to his friends and that is a noble quality. Being of an introspective turn of mind and very sensitive even to the inaudible currents of public opinion, he strives his utmost to avoid any partiality to friends or unfairness to the country.

He generally inaugurates the Indian Science Congress meetings and pleads for a scientific outlook on all matters. If we do not expand scientific and technical education, we cannot ensure our future. India cannot survive if ability and inventiveness are not encouraged. The history of dictatorships is a monument to the misery, poverty and insecurity of people. If political stability is to be secured, these require to be removed. Nehru pleads for democracy, which means for him a fuller and more satisfying life in which standards of education, health and culture enlarge for every one. He will not sacrifice the freedom of the human spirit for anything.

Toleration and appreciation of other points of view have been with us from the beginning of our history. Every society has its own cultural values. Though they may be different from our own, they carry an underlying likeness to our own. In the present context of the world, Nehru feels that we should develop a new method of settling international disputes. The doctrine of Panchshila which he advocates requires that force should be reduced to the minimum, and persuasion, which implies understanding, mutual consideration, concession and agreement, should be the dominating factor. He has sought to bridge the chasms that separate races, nations and systems. That is why his name has such a great international appeal and become a legend in his own lifetime.

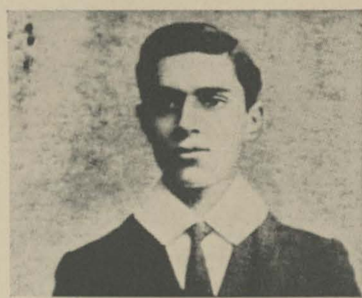
Jawaharlal Nehru is seventy-one. He is still amazingly young in spirit. Till recently he used to give way to raw emotions, though he recovered tranquillity in a minute. The people of India love him so much that they forgive him his few frailties. Perfection lives in realms above. Nehru has vision and courage, fire and intensity. He does not spend much time glorifying the past but is always active meeting the challenge of the future. He is the voice of the people of India, their hopes and aspirations for political stability, for social change, for democratic planning, for world peace. It is our earnest hope that he may live for many years to guide this country on its onward march to freedom and fulfillment. ♦



Nehru was born on November 14, 1889 in Allahabad.



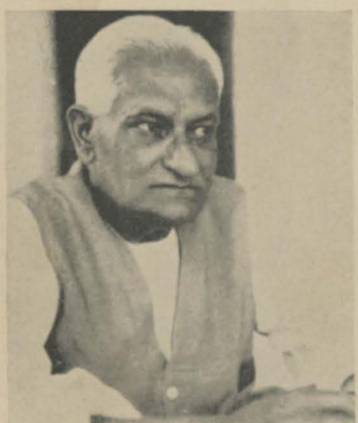
European governesses and tutors gave Jawaharlal his first lessons.



In 1905, Jawaharlal went to England, where he entered Harrow.



Nehru returned to India in 1912 with a law degree.





Pandit Motilal Nehru, father of Jawaharlal Nehru, was a wealthy Kashmiri Brahmin who settled in Allahabad in the United Provinces of Northern India, and became one of India's most distinguished lawyers. He was associated with Gandhi and was a leader in the Nationalist Movement. Jawaharlal was the oldest of 3 children born to Swarup Rani Nehru, the daughter of a famous family of Kashmir. Nehru's parents passed away during the difficult days of the struggle for independence.



Nehru romps with his grandsons, Rajiv and Sanjaya, sons of his daughter, Indira, in a moment of relaxation from his exacting schedule. The tasks facing him are formidable in a country with a population ranging from primitive to sophisticated; over 50 per cent illiterate; a prey to many divisive forces, linguistic and social; living for the most part a marginal existence, yet striving earnestly toward a better way of life.







In 1916 Nehru married Kamala Kaul, daughter of a prosperous Kashmiri business man. She died in 1936 while Nehru was involved in the fight for independence. His daughter Indira (center), the most important woman in India today, and President of the Indian National Congress, is the wife of Parliament Member Feroz Gandhi. Madame Pandit (right), Nehru's sister, is one of the truly great women of our generation. She has held 3 of India's most important foreign posts and was the first woman Cabinet Minister in the United Provinces.



Nehru and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan stroll through the gardens of number 10 Downing Street.



Prime Minister Nehru and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, entertained Dr. Arnold Toynbee at the time of the eminent British historian's visit to India.

Nehru was a dinner guest of the Winston Churchills in London in May, 1949, just after Churchill had announced to Commons the acceptance of the new Commonwealth formula.



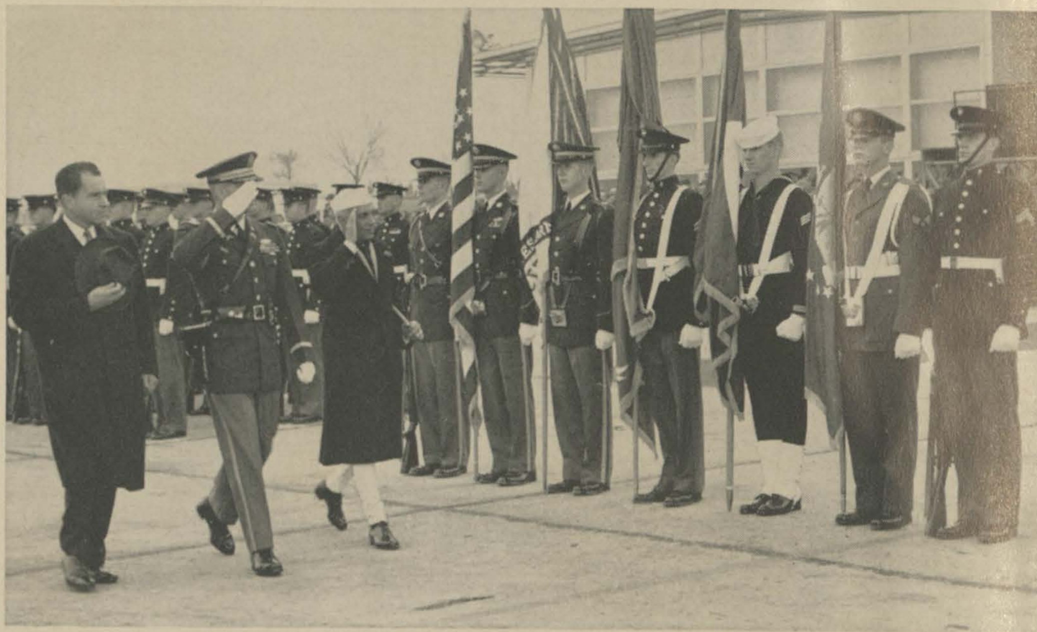


Conferences with government officials and world statesmen take up much of the Prime Minister's time. He has been, and remains today, the fount of all major decisions, the policy-making brain, the repository of ultimate responsibility in India.



Nehru's strong face displays a very special kind of glow as he greets the Eisenhowers and reviews troops with Vice-President Nixon—a sort of spiritual radiance which is perhaps due as much to his penetrating eyes as to the unusual regularity of his features. His whole personality exudes sensitivity, kindness, generosity and, above all, profound humility and an apparent softness which conceals an iron will and great courage. Wherever he goes, from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean, Nehru is idolized by the people regardless of their caste, creed, religion or language. At seventy-one, he can look back on a historical career that has few parallels in India's long history. Nehru has enjoyed a form of personal power and prestige which dwarfs that of any ruler in Indian history.







Eleanor Roosevelt was honored with a reception at the Prime Minister's House, New Delhi, when she visited India in 1952. Nehru, accompanied by Mrs. Roosevelt, Indira Gandhi and Madame Pandit, placed a wreath on the grave of President Franklin D. Roosevelt during his trip to the United States.

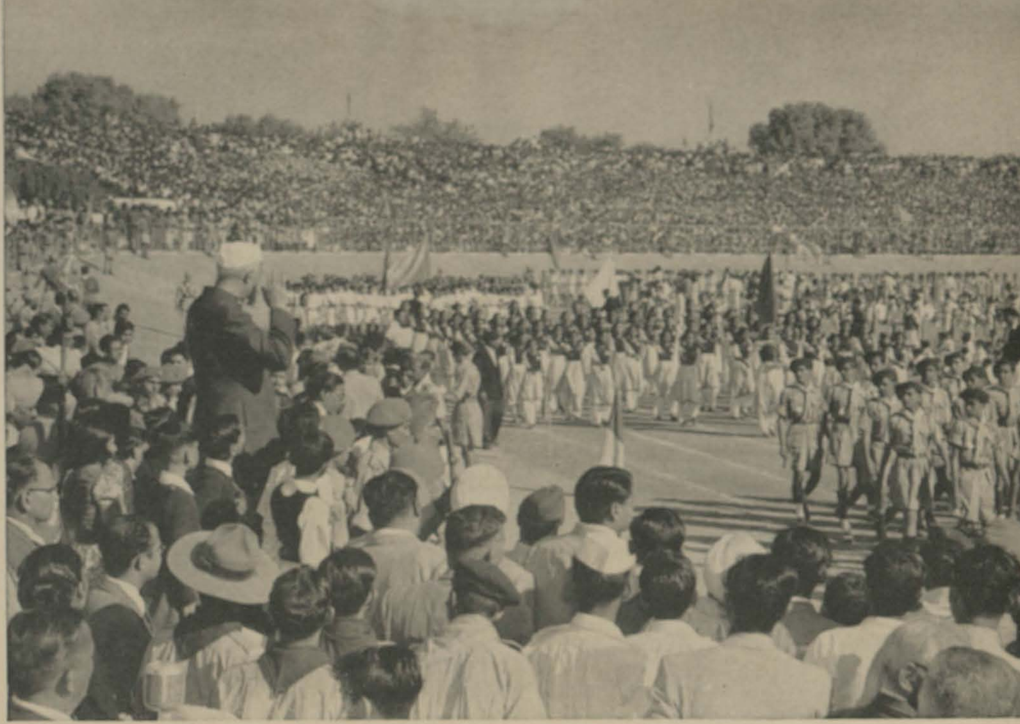




Nehru was particularly interested in America's universities when he visited the United States in 1949. A highlight of his trip was a meeting at Princeton University with Albert Einstein, a man whom he had always greatly admired.



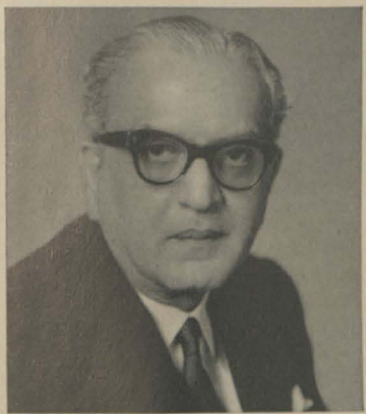
The agreement to provide India with 17 million tons of food grains in the next 4 years is an outgrowth of President Eisenhower's visit to India. An average of one shipload of wheat will be sent daily from the United States for a 4-year period. The wheat involved is nearly equal to half an average United States' wheat crop and is more than is consumed in the United States as food in an entire year.



When Nehru was asked if he believed his popularity was comparable to Gandhi's, he replied that he felt the Indian people had great affection for him, whereas they venerated Gandhi, but what moves him most is the love of all Indian children, who look upon him as "Uncle Nehru."



Vice-President Radhakrishnan; Dr. Rao, Vice-Chancellor, and Prime Minister Nehru accompanied President Eisenhower when he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Delhi University.



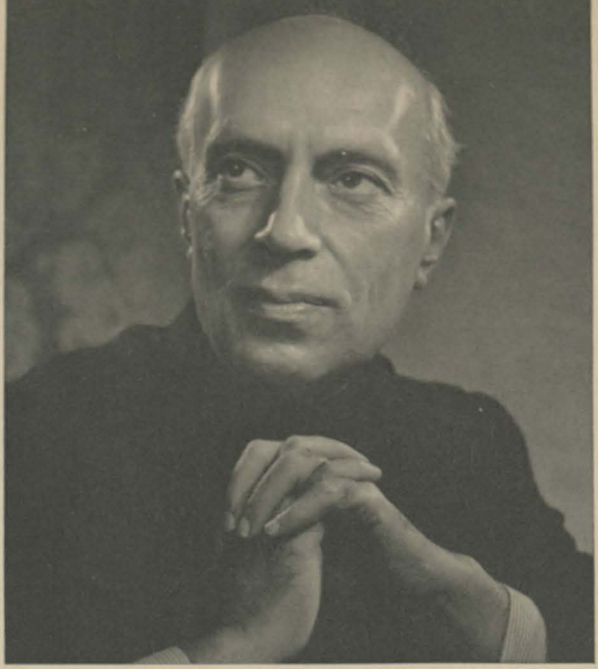
M. C. Chagla, India's Ambassador to the United States.

India's needs are great, according to President Eisenhower. The United States has already supplied India with some 2 billion dollars. The President feels that the rest is up to India.



President Eisenhower was warmly welcomed to India by the President of India. Dr. Rajendra Prasad; Mrs. Indira Gandhi; the Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan; Prime Minister Nehru; T. C. Sharma, Mayor of Delhi; and Ellsworth Bunker, United States Ambassador to India.





from the Wisdom of NEHRU

We live in a vital, developing world going forward to new discoveries and new triumphs which place increasing power at man's disposal. Let us hope this power will be controlled and governed by wisdom and tolerance, with each nation contributing to the common good.

Good always brings good and draws good from others.

Of the dominating features of the age we live in, one of the most noticeable is that people are gradually losing the art of thinking. They often take other people's opinions for granted.

One has to hope, because if one lost hope, then one could hardly function satisfactorily.

Nobody is perfect; he has weaknesses and failings. Nobody is thoroughly bad either. We are all mixtures of good and evil. But we should try to further the good in ourselves and in others.

Problems are not solved by merely looking in a different direction.

We tend to think that we need not worry about the little things of life because we are preoccupied with the big things of life. That is utterly and fundamentally wrong. If you are, let us say, wedded or attracted to the ideal of truth and beauty, you cannot follow that ideal if you deal with the ugly and untruthful in the small things of life.

I do not believe that a person who ignores the small things of life, the small truths, the small decencies, the small pleasantnesses, the small graciousness, can undertake anything big in a big way.

Life is an ever-growing, dynamic process. No kind of vitality can be static. The moment growth stops, decay sets in and the ultimate result is death.

It seems to me that the modern world is getting completely out of tune with what I might call the life of the mind—I am leaving out the life of the spirit at the moment. Yet, the modern world is entirely the outcome of the life of the mind. After all, it is the human mind that has produced everything that we see around us and feel around us. Civilization is the product of the human mind and yet, strangely enough, one begins to feel that the function of the mind becomes less and less important in the modern world or, at any rate, is no longer so important as it used to be.

Culture is the widening of the mind and of the spirit. It is never a narrowing of the mind or a restriction of the human spirit.

The more I thought and the more I learned the more I saw how little I knew and how much more there was to learn. One of my regrets today is that I have no time to pursue these studies properly by reading or thinking or writing, because writing for me is essentially an aid to thinking. In trying to write, one has to think more concisely than otherwise.

No task is too hard for a people determined to succeed.

Education has mainly two aspects, the cultural aspect which makes a person grow, and the productive aspect which makes a person do things. Both are essential. Everybody should be a producer as well as a good citizen and not a sponge on another person even though the other person may be one's own husband or wife.

You cannot talk of God to a starving person; you must give him food.

Happiness and work are wedded together, for there can be no true happiness without the feeling that one is doing something worthwhile.

What others say or do not say does not worry me very much. But I must be at peace with myself.

Grown-ups have a habit of appearing to be very wise, even though very few of them possess much wisdom. I have not quite made up my mind yet whether I am wise or not. Sometimes, listening to others, I feel I must be very wise and brilliant and important. Then, looking at myself, I begin to doubt this. In any event, people who are wise do not talk about their wisdom and do not behave as if they were very superior persons.

No man can build or construct anything beautiful unless he has faith.

Occasionally one has even to gaze at the stars even though one may not reach them. Merely to lower your ideals because you think they are too high is not right, even though you might not quite achieve these ideals.

Material riches without toleration and compassion and wisdom may well turn to dust and ashes.

I do not consider literacy as education. I know plenty of people who read and write fluently who are completely uneducated so far as I am concerned, who haven't grown out of an infantile frame of mind.

Normally speaking, high standards and high intelligence are not allied with large quantities of money. A person with a large amount of money need not necessarily have high cultural standards or high literary standards or any high standards at all, though he may have the knack of making money.

We go about thinking in terms of improving others. I wish all of us would give up the idea of improving others, and improve ourselves instead.

If you want to educate, you must do it in an amusing way, an entertaining way, in a light way, sometimes in a heavy way, too, if you like—just as you cannot train a child by simply dosing him with heavy stuff all the time. You will ruin his life if you do that.

There is perhaps nothing so bad and so dangerous in life as fear.

It is not what you say that matters, but what you do. Think therefore of the vast opportunities that the world offers to those who are keen of mind, strong of character and fleet of foot.

Those who lean on others tend to become weak and helpless themselves.

The world is full of tension and conflict today. Behind this tension lies an ever-growing fear that is the parent of so many ills. There are also economic causes that can be remedied only by economic means. There can be no security or real peace if vast numbers of people in various parts of the world live in poverty and misery.

It is the quality of the mind that counts, even with courage and daring.

Curious how each person judges of the other race, not from the individual with whom he has come in contact, but from others about whom he knows very little or nothing at all.

What we really are matters more than what other people think of us.

Those people who talk most loudly of culture, according to my judgment, possess no culture at all. Culture, first of all, is not loud; it is quiet, it is restrained, it is tolerant. You may judge the culture of a person by his silence, by a gesture, by a phrase or, more especially, by his life generally.

Human beings have an enormous capacity for adapting themselves.

In the modern world today, you cannot go on for long having big gaps between those at the top and those at the bottom. You cannot make all men equal, of course, but we must at least give them equality of opportunity.

Art galleries and museums in a great city are like windows which look out on the broader, richer and deeper things of life.

We must have eyes to see and ears to hear and a mind that opens out to the life and beauty of the world.

Basic faith gives one the strength to survive. Looking back on the long perspective and panorama of history, one sees periods when great crises faced the world, and people living then thought that their time was the worst of all times, the most critical, the most dangerous. And yet the world survived, and not only survived but went ahead and made good in some other directions. Likewise, perhaps, we who live in these times may be attaching too great an importance to certain evil and unhappy aspects of these times, not realizing that under this crust, good things may be happening which will break out and take humanity further. It is good to have that faith and it is good to have some anchorage which will prevent us from drifting too much.

I dislike the praise of poverty and suffering. I do not think they are at all desirable, and they ought to be abolished. Nor do I appreciate the ascetic life as a social ideal, though it may suit individuals. I understand and appreciate simplicity, quality, self-control, but not the mortification of the flesh. Just as an athlete is required to train his body, I believe that the mind and habits have also to be trained and brought under control. It would be absurd to expect that a person who is given to too much self-indulgence can endure much suffering or show unusual self-control or behave like a hero when the crisis comes. To be in good moral condition requires at least as much training as to be in good physical condition. But that certainly does not mean asceticism or self-mortification.

There is no magic in this world except the occasional magic of human personality and the human mind. It takes time and perseverance to do big things. It will not do to be faint-hearted. One meets with failure occasionally, but one has yet to go on. Success does not come suddenly or without setbacks.

What is important is that each person should produce something of value to society.

You may have a good worker who is completely illiterate and yet is near perfect and you may have very highly educated persons who are completely useless and ineffective.

A university stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for progress, for the adventure of ideas and for the search for truth. It stands for the onward march of the human race toward even higher objectives. If the universities discharge their duty adequately, then it is well with the nation and the people. But if the temple of learning itself becomes a home of narrow bigotry and petty objectives, how then will the nation prosper or a people grow in stature?

It takes a long time to build and it does not take very long to destroy.

I do not believe in all people being regimented to think in one way. I want free flow and free exchange of thought and out of that we sometimes find a bit of the truth.

People have become more brutal in thought, speech and action. All the graciousness and gentleness of life seem to have ebbed away. The human values seem to have suffered considerably. Of course, plenty of human values still remain; I am not saying that everything worthwhile is completely destroyed, but I do say that the process of coarsening is going on apace all over the world. We are being coarsened and vulgarized because of many things, but chiefly because of violence and the succession of wars. If this process continues, I wonder whether anything of value in life will remain.

We have to approach a problem with as much calm and wisdom as we possess.

More and more, people seem to lose all idea of what beauty is and to surround themselves with articles which certainly are not beautiful, whatever else they may be. It is quite extraordinary how people are losing any real appreciation of beauty.

Everything is related to everything else: nothing is isolated. Every aspect of life is related in some way or other to another aspect, and every aspect of life in one nation is related to other national lives. It was so to some extent even in the past. But in the present age this is so obvious, because of all kinds of factors which bring nations close to one another.

I will not leave integrity of mind and purpose in pursuit of anything. Nothing worthwhile can be gained that way.

A slight feeling of uneasiness comes over me at the thought of my age, because, after all, I may have only a few more years to live and the only ambition that I have is that to the end of my days I should work my hardest and then when I have done my job I should be thrown on the scrap heap. When I have done my job, there is no need to bother about me further. It is the job and the work that count, not thinking and shouting about people who have done their job and gone. So I shall go on doing my job as best I can.

It is only when the young men and women, who are in the university today and on whom the burden of life's problems will fall tomorrow, learn to have clear objectives and standards of values that there is hope for the next generation.

What the world today lacks most is, perhaps, understanding and appreciation of one another among nations and people.

It is far better to know our own weaknesses and failings than to point out those of others.

Language gives clothing to concepts and ideas. If our writers and poets, essayists and novelists, historians and biographers have ideas, they will find adequate expression in language. You cannot create ideas by an empty word. Words are powerful because they represent the power of ideas. Amazing power the word has. If it is a good word, it survives.

Modern life does not encourage the life of the mind. If the life of the mind is not encouraged, then inevitably civilization deteriorates, the race deteriorates and ultimately both collapse in some big cataclysm or just fade away and become as other races and civilizations have become.

from the Wisdom of NEHRU



History is a record of human progress, a record of the struggle of the advancement of the human mind, of the human spirit, toward some known or unknown objective.

Time is not measured by the passing of years but by what one does, what one feels and what one achieves.

If I were given the chance to go through my life again, with my present knowledge and experience added, I would no doubt try to make many changes in my personal life; I would endeavor to improve in many ways on what I had previously done, but my major decisions in public affairs would remain untouched. Indeed, I could not vary them, for they were stronger than myself, and a force beyond my control drove me to them.

A human being grows and ought to grow like a flower or a plant. You cannot pull it out; you can water it; you can help it grow; you can give it good soil; you can put it in the fresh air or in the sun. But it has to grow itself; you cannot make it grow by force.

Greatness comes from vision, the tolerance of the spirit, compassion and an even temper which is not ruffled by ill fortune or good fortune.

I am tired of people who merely talk about things. However wise you may be, you can never enter into the spirit of a thing if you only talk about it and do nothing. Even scientists have a tendency to let a wonderful experiment remain an experiment once it has been performed. The next stage somehow does not come. They may well say that the next stage is somebody else's job, but I think if the scientist had a sense of practical application, he would either try to do it himself or get somebody else to do it. This association of thought with action is, I think, of utmost importance. Thought without action is an abortion; action without thought is folly.

Let us carry with us a remembrance of how the world is changing, the revolutions which are taking place in the world today. Let us forget our petty quarrels and open the windows of our minds so that we can see our changing society in its true perspective.

Keep an open mind and be receptive to modern ideas.

It is up to each one of us, whatever his station in life, whatever his job, to think of himself in terms of the big problems that we have to face and think of his own duty toward them, what he has to do and what he has not to do.

To believe that human beings are such that without the acquisitive instinct they cannot function properly is to do mankind a great injustice. All the great things in the world have been done not through acquisitiveness but the reverse of it. All the great inventors, the great scientists, the great writers, the great musicians, even our great engineers, have prospered and made the world advance because of other urges.

Life, whether of the individual, group, nation or society, is essentially a dynamic, changing, growing thing. Whatever stops that dynamic growth also injures it and undermines it.

We must not let our minds get entangled in petty questions and difficulties and forget the main issues.

We live in a wonderful world that is full of beauty and charm and adventure. There is no end to the adventures that we can have if only we seek them with our eyes open. So many people seem to go about their life's business with their eyes shut. Indeed, they object to other people keeping their eyes open.

I do not like people who have no pride and ambition and are just sloppy people. I am not using the words pride and ambition in a small personal sense. I do not mean the pride of getting money, which is the silliest of all types of pride. Pride should consist in doing your job in the best possible manner. If you are a scientist, think of becoming Einstein, not merely a teacher in your university. If you are a medical man, think of some discovery which will bring healing to the human race. If you are an engineer, aim at some new invention. The mere act of aiming at something big makes you big.

I have always been strongly of the opinion that while it may be possible to neglect men's education it is not possible or desirable to neglect women's education. The reasons are obvious. If you educate the women, probably men will also be affected thereby, and in any event children will be affected.

I must confess that the older I grow the more I feel the lack of wisdom in myself. It may be that that very feeling is a sign of having some wisdom.

It will not profit a man very much if he is clever with his hands, or even with his tongue or brain, but has no foundations of character or wider vision.

People who always seek evil in others find it.

In spite of my strong convictions, I am not devoid of the student's approach to life and its problems. Dogmas irritate me, whether they are religious or political or economic, and my mind is always searching for the path I should follow. I try not to close it. This makes me welcome all the more personal contacts. Books help, and they have been an unfailing solace to me for many years; but personal touch with the people behind books and ideas and actions has something vital about it which even books do not have.



Does culture mean some inner growth in the man? Of course, it must. Does it mean the way he behaves to others? Certainly it must. Does it mean the capacity to understand the other person? I suppose so. Does it mean the capacity to make yourself understood by the other person? I suppose so. It means all that. A person who cannot understand another's viewpoint is to that extent limited in mind and culture, because nobody, perhaps barring some very extraordinary human beings, can presume to have the fullest knowledge and wisdom. The other party or the other group may also have some inkling of knowledge or wisdom or truth and if we shut our minds to that, we not only deprive ourselves of it, but we cultivate an attitude of mind which is opposed to that of a cultured man. The cultured mind, rooted in itself, should have its doors and windows open. It should have the capacity to understand the other's viewpoint fully, even though it cannot always agree with it. The question of agreement or disagreement only arises when you understand a thing. Otherwise, it is blind negation, which is not a cultured approach to any question.

Thinking is something which does not come automatically to a person. Gossiping with a neighbor is not thought. If you repeat something which somebody else has said, it is not thought. Nothing is more helpful to thinking than reading, that is, reading intelligently, because thereby you get other people's thoughts, and by weighing them you can think yourself. I have often said that it is very unfortunate that people think and read so little nowadays. I do not call newspaper-reading reading. But any reading which makes you think is useful reading, even if it is a very good novel. Great novels always make one think, because they are pictures of life painted by great minds.

Ours is a complicated, difficult and tormented world. We must not approach our problems with any certitude of success but with a great deal of humility and try to help where we can. Our aim should be to be helpful, to do good, or at any rate, to avoid evil.

I am interested in this world, in this life, not some other world or future life.

True freedom is not merely political, but must also be economic and spiritual. Only then can man grow and fulfill his destiny.

How amazing is this spirit of man! In spite of innumerable failings, man, throughout the ages, has sacrificed his life and all he held dear for an ideal, for truth, for faith, for country and honor. That ideal may change, but that capacity for self-sacrifice continues, and because of that, much may be forgiven to man, and it is impossible to lose hope for him.

There is a great revolution coming about like the Industrial Revolution of about 200 years ago. We live in an age of rapid changes, but oddly enough, the human mind which brings about these changes lags behind.

You may become a distinguished mathematician or an eminent individual otherwise, but you will find you will be an even better mathematician if your body functions properly. I do not like persons going about with a bent back. I want them to be straight like a ramrod and walk erect. I want them to be quick in their walk and not to saunter and loiter, as many do. Basic education stresses both things—physical or cultural fitness and the ability to do things with the hands. You can take it from me that if your hands can do things, your mind will work more satisfactorily.

We are becoming a lazy people, especially with our hands and feet and often enough intellectually lazy, too.

I have carried on in the past and I shall carry on in the future thinking more of the principles I cherish than of the results that may follow from my actions. Without that basis of thought and action, I would become a straw upon the waters, blown about hither and thither, without rudder or compass. I have found life often enough a heavy burden to carry, but I have had some consolation from the fact that I have tried to adhere to some fixed principles.

A man who sits cooped up in an office becomes static and a dead weight. That is why I occasionally want to run away from New Delhi and rush about from place to place. I want to escape from the deadly static atmosphere of paper and files and ink in which one forgets that there are human beings.

Life does not consist entirely of what we see and hear and feel, the visible world which is undergoing change in time and space. It is continually touching an invisible world of other, and possibly more stable or equally changeable elements, and no thinking person can ignore this invisible world.

We learn by trial and error. And if we have the capacity to learn by trial and error, then on the whole it is well with us. It is only those who refuse to learn that get into greater difficulties.

Facts are facts and will not disappear on account of your likes or dislikes.

Grown-ups have a strange way of putting themselves in compartments and groups. They build up barriers and then they think that those outside their particular barrier are strangers whom they must dislike. There are barriers of religion, of caste, of color, of party, of nation, of province, of language, of custom and of wealth and poverty. Thus, they live in prisons of their own making. Fortunately, children do not know much about these barriers which separate. They play or work with one another and it is only when they grow up that they begin to learn about these barriers from their elders.

We do not know what the morrow may bring but it is rather satisfying to work for the morrow of your choice. It brings something into your life which makes it worthwhile. If you align yourself to some great purpose or to something elemental, it ennobles you. Whether the reward comes or not, the mere fact of working for it is a reward enough.

Let us be a little humble; let us think that the truth may not perhaps be entirely with us. Let us co-operate with others; let us, even when we do not appreciate what others say, respect their views and their ways of life.

When people talk to me, I want them to talk intelligently and not just throw the words vaguely at me.

We have had great religions and they have had an enormous effect on humanity. Yet, if I may say so with all respect and without meaning ill to any person, those very religions, in the measure that they made the mind of man static, dogmatic and bigoted, have had an evil effect. The things they said may be good, but when it is claimed that the last word has been said, society becomes static.

I have felt sometimes that in the modern world, and perhaps in the ancient world also, it is often preferred to break some people's hearts rather than touch others' pockets. Pockets are indeed more valuable and more cherished than hearts and brains and bodies and human justice and dignity.

When we undertake a big work we have to do so with a large heart and a large mind. Small minds cannot undertake big works. When we see big works our stature grows with them, and our minds open out a little.

If the universities do not teach some kind of basic wisdom, if they think in terms of producing people with degrees who want certain jobs, then the universities may have solved to a very minor extent the problem of unemployment, or provided some technical help or other; but they will not have produced men who can understand or solve the problems of today.

Means are at least as important as ends; if the means are not right, the end is also likely to be not right, however much we may want it to be right.

Fear and dread do not lead to constructive thought or effective courses of action. Panic is no remedy against disaster of any kind, present or potential. Mankind has to awaken itself to the reality, face the situation with determination, and assert itself to avert calamity.

One must journey through life alone; to rely on others is to invite heartbreak.

The happiest man is he whose thinking and action are co-ordinated. Happiness, after all, is an inner state of mind. It is little dependent on outside environment. Happiness has very little to do, for instance, with whether you are rich or not rich. Some of the most miserable persons I have come across in my life are the rich people. It is true that poverty makes one miserable in a very acute way. But my point is that it is not wealth but co-ordination of one's thought and action which removes inner conflicts. It is in that way that integration of personality is achieved.

We cannot solve problems by sentiment. Where there is this strong emotional background, then, it seems to me wisdom requires something more than casual consideration and casual decision.

from the Wisdom of NEHRU



What is language? Thought represented in words. The most powerful thing in the world is thought. But thought remaining in the region of thought is inaccessible. It leads to nothing. It may almost be called an abortion, if I may use the phrase, although thought by itself is sometimes action also. The mere thinking is action. Thought has been and will be the greatest thing in the world, and everything else comes out of thought. But thought has to take shape in words, words of power, and in this language of our race, the most magnificent thoughts are clothed in words of power.

The test of an individual is how he treats his wife, his son or his neighbor. How he behaves toward another, how he functions in a social relationship—that is the test of the individual.

I have seen intellect prostituted to base ends. Sometimes, intellect by itself leads to nothing.

The moon, ever a companion to me in prison, has grown more friendly with closer acquaintance, a reminder of the loveliness of this world, of the waxing and waning of life, of light following darkness, of death and resurrection following each other in interminable succession.

It is dangerous and harmful to be guided in our life's course by hatreds and aversions, for they are wasteful of energy and limit and twist the mind and prevent it from perceiving the truth.

We cannot lose ourselves in aimless and romantic quests unconnected with life's problems, for destiny marches on and does not wait for our leisure. Nor can we concern ourselves with externals only, forgetting the significance of the inner life of man. There has to be a balance, an attempt at harmony between them.

Let us think not so much of what we have done, but of what we have left undone and what we have done wrongly.

In our world, which is so learned in so many subjects, there is very little wisdom. Perhaps that is because we all know something about a very little part of life and very little about the larger scheme of things.

Setbacks and temporary defeats are common enough in all great struggles. They grieve but one recovers soon enough. One recovers soon if the light of those ideals is not allowed to grow dim and the anchor of principles holds fast.

Can you imagine any good life which does not have an artistic and an aesthetic element in it, and a moral element in it? That would not be a good life; it would be some temporary phase of existence, which would be rather dry and harsh, and unfortunately, the world grows drier and harsher and more cruel.

All of us have our faults. We have our evil side and our good side.

There are no supermen or philosopher-kings; there are only frail human beings who cannot help thinking that their own personal good or the advancement of their own ideas is identical with the public good.

Ostentation itself is the height of vulgarity.

You cannot cure evil by trying to suppress it.

Idealism is the realism of tomorrow. It is the capacity to know what is good for the day after tomorrow or for the next year and to fashion yourself accordingly. The practical person, the realist, looks at the tip of his nose and sees little beyond; the result is that he is stumbling all the time.

We must get rid of the extraordinary notion that manual work is something degrading. There is nothing more ennobling than manual work and nothing better for physical or mental health.

We are all moderates or extremists in varying degrees, and for various objects. If we care enough for anything, we are likely to feel strongly about it, to be extremist about it. Otherwise we can afford a gracious tolerance, a philosophical moderation, which really hides to some extent our indifference.

Restraint is good and is the measure of our culture, but behind that restraint there must be something to restrain and hold back. It has been, and is, man's destiny to control the elements, to ride the thunderbolt, to bring the raging fire and the rushing and tumbling waters to his use, but most difficult of all for him has been to restrain and hold in check the passions that consume him.

The future appears to be full of conflict and difficulty, but I have little doubt that the spirit of man, which has survived so much, will triumph again.

The vitality of a group, an individual or a society is measured by the extent to which it possesses courage and, above all, creative imagination. If that creative imagination is lacking, growth becomes more and more stunted, which is a sign of decay.

We find that education has been leading us into wrong channels. We find science perverted to serve evil ends. We find that culture, instead of being something that broadens our vision and gives us wisdom, sometimes actually narrows us and engenders wars. Thus, the very things that ought to help us in solving the world's problems—namely, education, science and culture—become barriers to that solution.

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